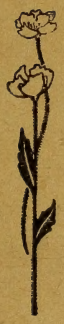
CANADIAN LETTERS

DESCRIPTION OF A TOUR THRO' THE PROVINCES OF LOWER AND UPPER CANADA, IN THE COURSE OF THE YEARS 1792 AND '93

Reprinted from "THE CANADIAN ANTIQUARIAN AND NUMISMATIC JOURNAL," Vol- IX, Third Series, Nos. 3 and 4, July-October, 1912,

FOR

THOMAS O'LEARY



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FOREWORD

THE MANUSCRIPTS bearing the foregoing title and sub-title are evidently *drafts* of a series of letters penned by some English traveller, whose name has not yet been ascertained, to an unnamed correspondent, some time after his return. The many erasures and emendations evince the care taken to give the Letters the polished form they finally assumed, in which shape, as here given, they, no doubt, reached the hands of the recipient for whom they were intended.

The writer is evidently a man of education, position and distinction, in close touch with high

official circles—civil and military. His style is admirable and his technique finished; his powers of observation and description of a high order; his reflections and comments on men, manners and movements capable and pointed.

Concerning the *Letters,* Mr. Thomas O'Leary, Assistant Librarian of the Château de Ramezay, their owner, writes:

> "The manuscript of 'Canadian Letters' appearing in this number of the Canadian Antiquarian was presented to me by my brother, the late James M. O'Leary, of the P. M. G's Dept., Ottawa, some eighteen years ago. For many years he had in his possession a bound volume of manuscript letters descriptive of a tour through Canada in 1792-93, which he valued very highly, and it was only after great persuasion on my part that he transcribed them for me. How, or where he obtained them I never learned, but possessing a strong yearning for antiquarian research, he devoted all his leisure moments to useful delving into the musty records of the past, and so may have come across these Letters. At the time of his death, ten years ago, the original came into my possession."

Desiring some authoritative confirmation of editorial judgment, and relying upon the high literary standing and well-known courtesy of Dr. A. G. Doughty, Deputy Minister and Dominion Archivist, he was written to as follows:

> "There has come into our hands a bundle of old MSS. which we should like to use in the *Antiquarian,* but we recoil at the possibility of serving up a 'twice-laid' dish for the fresh viands we and our constituents delight in. We think it 'a find,' and while none of us can connect the story with any of the 'Travels'

known to us, the fear of unwittingly putting out a 'twice-told tale' impels us to trouble you for an opinion as to its originality, or whether your wide knowledge can identify it with anything already extant."

That this confidence was well-founded, and the pains taken to sift the matter very considerable, the following excerpt from Dr. Doughty's reply, printed with his permission, clearly shows:

"I have had an examination made of all the manuscripts we have in the Archives relating to the Simcoe period, but I can find no trace of documents such as you mention. I thought perhaps that some clue might be obtained from the *Journal* of Mrs. Simcoe who makes frequent notice of visitors to Government House in 1793, but there is nothing that throws light on the question. I think therefore you would be quite safe in publishing the manuscript."

The Letters, printed *verbatim* from Mr. J. M. O'Leary's admirable transcription, are their own best interpreters. They are submitted with disclaimer of responsibility for any of the impressions, views and opinions therein expressed, as a new page in the Nation's story, without bias or offense:—THE EDITOR.

LONDON, March 5th, 1795.

Dear Sir,

You say that you would not trouble me for an account of Canada, if there were any modern publications on the subject, and that it is only from the dearth of information, that you are induced to trespass on my time. Believe me that no man is so welcome as yourself to whatever portion of it, I shall appropriate to you for this purpose.

How far I shall be successful in the attempt to amuse or instruct you is uncertain. Of one point however you may be persuaded, that I shall not voluntarily mislead your judgment.

You, who are acquainted with my temper and disposition, will naturally suppose that a projected voyage to Canada would be to me a source of much satisfaction,—here the troops of Britain had enterprized with success,—here Wolfe had perished in the arms of victory, and here the influence of a Johnson, devoted to the cause of his country, had impressed on the savage mind a bias hostile to the enemies of England. To some men the scene of such transactions would be uninteresting, not so with your friend, to traverse the plains of Abraham would be, I felt, to move on *modern classic ground.*

I have ever admired the sentiment of Johnson in his Hebrides,—far from me, and from my friends be that apathy, which can proceed indifferent and unmoved, over any ground which has been distinguished by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. When this happens, I have ever thought that such minds want tone.

The natural beauties of Canada, we have all been accustomed to admire from report. From early youth, we have been in the habit of giving it credit for extensive tracts of wood and water, diversified in prospect and fashion, as though nature, everywhere else serious, had reserved this country to unbend herself in frolic, one while binding its waters in a continuity of frost, and another, precipitating whole seas from a cataract.

I sailed from Liverpool, on the 9th of August 1792 for Quebec, and after experiencing some perils of water, we made the land of Cape Breton. This island forms the southern entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which is bounded to the north by part of Newfoundland. The intervening distance is about 60 miles. Navigators

usually keep to the southern, as the coast of Newfoundland has many dangerous rocks, and shoals.

About the middle of the Gulf, we sailed by the island of Anticosti. This land is uninhabited, unless at particular seasons, when hunters come on account of the skins of animals, with which it abounds. It extends about 30 miles in length. Its breadth is inconsiderable. In most places it is distant from the land either to the north, or south about 35 miles. I was much struck with the idea that this island would be a proper place for a settlement of convicts. The distance from home would equally preclude escape, as by transmitting them to Botany Bay. I communicated with some gentlemen at Quebec, on this point, who were of the same opinion. After the period of their exile was elapsed, those of them who had families might accelerate the population of Canada, by receiving small grants of land, and thus strengthen our colonial establishment. The industry of these persons, confined to a small tract, would soon exhibit a scene of high cultication that would exonerate their country from the expense of supporting them.

The navigation of the River St. Lawrence is peculiarly dangerous, hence the necessity of taking a pilot on board, at a distance of 50 leagues from Quebec, at the Isle of Bic. To survey a chart of this river, one would suppose that danger could rarely be escaped from the number of sunken rocks, that are laid down in it. Fortunately for us, our pilot was a man of ability, to whose skill we were, I believe, indebted for our safety. Shortly after we had taken him on board, it commenced a dreadful storm, accompanied with a thick fog, in consequence of which we could ont see above a quarter of a mile from any part of the vessel. This last circumstance is, of all others, most to be apprehended, as it deprives the pilot of the opportunity of ascertaining the course of the ship by land marks, and reduces him to the necessity of relying merely on the lead. You may suppose that I had some occasion for alarm, when the Captain twice informed me, that he considered us as being in a most desperate situation, the vessel at the time going with the wind, and current, 14 miles an hour. The storm however abated, and we landed in safety on Sunday the 14th of October.

The St. Lawrence, as you approach the town, has an interesting appearance, from the number of houses and villages which adorn its banks. They are white on the outside, which aids the effect.

The appearance of Quebec, to a stranger, is far from pleasing. It is divided into an upper and lower town, the latter of which, in wet weather, is one uniform scene of mud. The houses in both are, in general, built of stone. On the whole, Quebec appears to be, which, in fact it is, a French establishment, where cleanliness is seldom attended to. The dress of the women, the wooden shoes and their cookery, all tend to aid the delusion, and induce you, occasionally, to suppose yourself in a town of old France.

The lower town of Quebec could make but little resistance against an enemy, who was superior by sea, but the upper one, from the natural strength of its situation is capable of a considerable defence on the western side. There are new works constructed on the land quarter, which appear sufficient to repel any ordinary force that could be brought against them, particularly when it is considered that an enemy could derive but little support from artillery, which it would be impossible for them to draw up the heights, which surround the town, in the face of a well appointed garrison.

The 7th, or British Fuzileers, commanded by Prince Edward, together with a body of artillery, performed garrison duty, whilst I was at Quebec. The appearance of the 7th, is highly military in point of figure. The mutiny, which some time after took place among them, has been attributed to various causes. The most probable is to be traced to the manner in which the majority of the corps was originally composed. His Royal Highness, with the natural ardour of a youthful soldier, was desirous that his Regiment should be distinguished for its figure, and, in consequence applied, when at Gibraltar, to some general officers, to accommodate him with men who would answer that purpose. They, it is said, took occasion at the same time to get quit of a number of troublesome fellows. Such persons being brought together in one body, and at the same time distant from home, formed the desperate resolution of deserting, and going to the States of America. Their plan was however defeated in the very moment previous to its execution. His Highnesses subsequent conduct, to the ringleaders of the delinquents, was such as to impress the minds of the people of Canada, with the most favorable opinion of the clemency of his temper.

The appearance of Quebec, from the river, is far from favorable, but from the town, the view of the St. Lawrence and Isle d'Orleans,

and the adjacent country, with the distant prospect of the falls of Montmorency is one of the noblest (that) can be conceived.

The Isle d'Orléans is peculiarly noted for its fertility, and forms a kind of mole to the harbour.

The falls of Montmorency is probably the highest in the world, but the grandeur of its effect is diminished, from the scantiness of the waters which descend.

I was particularly solicitous to see the Plains of Abraham, where Wolfe, by defeating the French, annexed Canada to the British Empire. The scène of action is distant about two miles from the town. When we consider that the troops had to gain this eminence, which is almost perpendicular from the side of the river, and then form on its verge, we know not whether most to admire, the bravery which executed, or the head which planned such a scheme, the completion of which would, to ordinary minds, appear impracticable. It was a singular coincidence in the engagement of that day, that the first and second in command on both sides were wounded in the course of the action, the Commanders in Chief mortally.

When we reflect how much reputation and character depend on circumstances, we have reason to think that the fate of Wolfe cannot be deemed altogether unfortunate. The cavils of envy were disarmed by death—victory embalming his memory rendered it odoriferous, and life was closed with a sentiment. (1) How different the fate of Montgomery who, with extraordinary talents for war, turned his sword against his country, sought fame in treason, and perished rashly. Thus far we must give expression to merited reproach. The report of private life, speaks him to have been a man generous and brave, endowed with many virtues. When such men deviate, the liberal mind is prone to extenuate offense, and transfer imputation from the erring individual to human nature.

Montgomery met his fate at a place called the Potash, in the environs of the lower town of Quebec, in an expedition undertaken by him and Arnold jointly, against this place. The approach was by a narrow pass, the river on one hand, with an eminence composed of stone quarry on the other. In this pass, not more than two men could move abreast. To oppose the Americans, the British had placed two

(1) I have always thought that General Wolfe had in contemplation, in his last moments, the conduct of Epaminondas, the Theban, when mortally wounded in battle.

small field pieces, in a house, commanding the passage. Thus enfiladed, the enemy were mowed down by cannister shot as they advanced. This fire was too galling to be long sustained, when Montgomery, finding his men going back, rushed forward to the van, to animate them by example, and instantly fell. I saw the spot, and traced out the ground where they deposited his remains. I sought for stone, or other memorial to tell the passing stranger 'here lies Montgomery.' Governors, and Commanders in Canada, this is not well. Pique should have been buried with him, and sentiment suggested that a lifeless hero is every soldier's brother. (1)

It appears rather paradoxical that furs should be dearer in Canada, than in England, but the fact is, that I could purchase an article in this line, cheaper by one half in London than at Quebec. The cause is that they do not dress any skins in that country. They are sent over in the raw state to England, and from thence return to America, with the expense of two freights, and two merchants' profits annexed to their original value. On leaving England I had meditated something handsome, by transmitting presents of furs to some female friends. I thought that being in the very land of skins, this might be done at a trivial expense. The very first enquiry that I made on the subject convinced me that all these generous resolutions must be relinquished.

The temper of the French Canadian is peculiarly cheerful. He laughs, sings, and dances, with almost as much *gaiété du coeur*, as the European Frenchman was wont to do.

Winter is universally through Canada, the season of festivity. Cut off from communication with the rest of the world, the good people there find resources within themselves to mitigate the severity of the climate. About the close of October, all the ships have departed for Europe. Business is then at an end, and pleasure becomes the general object. The common amusement of the morning is what they call carrioling or driving a chaise, with one horse over

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(1) I have lately heard a cause assigned for this neglect of Montyomery, that during the siege he sent a letter to Lord Dorchester then Sir Guy Carleton, threatening, in language unbecoming a gentleman, to make him personally responsible for the security of the stores.

It is usually supposed that the cause of General Montgomery's joiuing the Americans, was his marriage with a lady of the Livingston family at New York.

It was remarked of him that in some conferences with British Officers, in the course of the war, he never looked them steadily in the face, — he felt not the sustaining pride of patriot honour.

the ice or snow. This carriage has no wheels, but glides along on iron bound shafts. Carrioling differs from what is called sleighing in Upper Canada in this that in the former one horse is used, in the latter two. The velocity with which these carriages move is surprising, and the exercise which they afford is, I am convinced highly conducive to health. The rapidity of the motion excites a glowing satisfaction of the most grateful nature. The gallantry of the young men is displayed in the fancy of the cariole, and the excellence of the horse and his trappings, who is further distinguished by bells. Thus appointed a Canadian cavalier dashes through the snows, and solicits some fair dame to participate in the pleasure of the day. Races are run, and emulative happiness is everywhere visible. Balls, concerts and moderate plays occupy their evenings. Their entertainments are furnished with a profusion of whatever constitutes good cheer, and contributes to the pleasures of the table. This is the unvarying round, and thus passes the Canadian winter, till the arrival of the first ship from Europe awakes them to the active pursuit of business.

Nothing can be considered more exhilirating and bracing than the air when the frost first sets in. Before its severity becomes intense, it seems to confer elasticity both on mind and body, and to render the animal machine capable of the greatest possible exertion. In the country parts, the snow frequently lies from six to ten feet in depth, nor would it be possible to trace a road, but for the strictness of the laws relative to the conduct of the overseers.

Lord Dorchester, the Governor of these Provinces, was absent in England, when I arrived. This nobleman was, I found, very popular, particularly among the native Canadians. From the length of time he has been among them, and the good offices he has rendered them, he is regarded with filial affection. Lady Dorchester is a sister of the late Lord Effingham. Through her influence, there is, I was informed, much observance of etiquette and ceremony. Many of the inhabitants thought that this representative of her Royal Highness would not have been a less exact resemblance, if she had occasionally permitted a few traits of condescension to appear in her deportment.

General Clarke, the Lieutenant Governor, performed the duties of office, in the absence of Lord Dorchester. This gentleman is of a prepossessing manly figure, and generally spoken of with approbation. He was formerly Governor of Jamaica. He had some difficulty at

first in conciliating the minds of the Canadian Legislature, to the wishes of Government, but was finally successful.

Canada, by the capitulation of Quebec, was secured in the enjoyment of its religion and laws, but since that period, that part of it which is now distinguished by the name of Upper Canada, lying to the Southward of Montreal, became inhabited by a description of persons, who were averse from that religion, and those laws, and attached to the religion and laws of England. These persons were principally half pay officers, and soldiers, who had obtained grants of lands. To meet the wishes of these people, and at the same time to preserve the good faith of the Capitulation, our Government determined to divide the province. It was impossible to draw a line of discrimination, so as exactly to place every one agreeable to their ideas of religion, and law. In general however, and with but few exceptions, the object has been attained.

Lower Canada comprehends the towns of Quebec, Trois-Rivières, and Montreal, which are the principal ones.

Upper Canada, commencing a little distance from Montreal, comprehends the town of Cataraqui, or Fort Frontenac, or Kingston, (as it has been called by the Indians, the French, and the English as they respectively possessed the country), of Niagara, Detroit and (word missing in manuscript).

The former province is governed by the laws of France, and Popery is the established religion.

The latter by the laws of England, both in Church and State. I would not be understood to say that all the laws of England are introduced into this province, but such as are suited to its circumstances. Many of our laws would be to them totally useless and inapplicable, and the source of much confusion. To have proffered them such a gift would have ben like placing the armour of a giant in the custody of a dwarf.

Most of the settlers in Upper Canada, consist of disbanded officers and soldiers, and their families, together with those of American loyalists. To have adhered tenaciously to the constitution of Quebec, and to have governed all Canada agreeable to its regulations, would have been folly in the extreme. England therefore wisely drew a line, which infringing no subsisting interest, designated how far the ancient laws of France should have force, reserving the remainder for

the introduction of her own. The necessity for this measure becomes more evident, when we consider that the extent of our Empire in that quarter is unknown, and that we cannot in idea, set any other geographical bound to it than the longitudinal distance of Nootka Sound on the Pacific Ocean. Neither policy or philosophy would permit the idea of fostering rising settlements, and an extensive population, in laws, usages, and a religion, adverse to our own.

The question is not now, whether England could retain, subject to her Empire, so extensive a tract, if populated, but there is a middle state of civilization, in which it may be rendered highly useful, and the introduction of our laws, usages and language, will, at all times form a bond of union, that will secure us a preference in commercial intercourse.

One step of a highly enlightened policy has been adopted by England with respect to Lower Canada. Though England could not abridge her franchises, she was authorized to enlarge them, which she did by granting them Legislative Assemblies, the lower one composed of representatives of the people. The time probably is not far distant, when, (prejudice subsiding), those bodies will call on England to establish those laws, and that constitution in their country, against which their ancestors protested.

The legal code which has hitherto determined most of the controverted cases in Canada is that which is denominated the *Coutume de Paris*. This system of laws is vague, diffuse, and intricate. Hence frequent appeals to England. Our judges, or the members of the Council, unacquainted with the laws of France, were then obliged to apply to the French Courts of justice to know what the law was on these particular points, nor was it always that satisfactory, or according opinions could be obtained from them. This mode of obtaining justice was so circuitous, (for it cannot be practised at present), and attended with so much vexation, and expense, that it has long been an object with reflecting men to fall on some plan, which, coinciding with the prejudices of the natives, might simplify the means of obtaining justice.

Attached as you are, with reason to the excellent institution, a trial by jury, you will scarcely believe, which is however literally a fact, that though the inhabitants of Lower Canada can, in certain cases, recur to a jury, yet is the privilege seldom resorted to. How is it that such infatuation can prevail? The decision of twelve men

usually tempers law with equity. The decision of one or two judges is the language of a general statute on a particular case, to which it is not always strictly applicable.

Believe me to be,

Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, March 14, 1795.

Dear Sir,

It may be made a question whether nations, like individuals, have not their "Ruling Passion." If so, I shall not hesitate to pronounce the ruling passion of Canada to be a passion for dancing, but English and Canadian dancing are two distinct things. In England, we dance for amusement, but in Canada 'tis a very serious business. In England, balls are given principally for the purpose of bringing young people together, but in Canada they are often perverted to the purpose of rendering old ones ridiculous. I had the following anecdote from an English lady of respectability.

During her stay at Quebec, she had received many attentions, and in consequence gave a ball in return. For this, the younger branches of the families of her friends were invited, the conveniences of the place not affording accommodation for the whole. Some time after, the matron of one of these families changed her usual mode of deportment so much as to excite apprehension, that she had taken offence at some circumstance. Inquiry was made through the medium of a friend, when out came the unparalleled grievance, namely, that the English lady had given an invitation to her two daughters, without asking herself, and that in a case of that kind, if any preference was given, she thought it was due to herself. The custom of England, which had occasioned the lady's mistake was explained to her, and harmony at length restored.

There is, however, in defence of this attachment of veterans to the service of dancing, some excuse to be offered. The natives appear to consider it rather in the light of an exercise, conducive to health, than as a sportive amusement. Probably also the severity of the climate renders some such diversion useful as contributing to relax the too great rigidity, which the fibres of the animal system might otherwise acquire.

The conduct of the Quebec matron brought to recollection Lady M. W. Montague's account of the usages of the Court of Vienna in her time, when a female, under forty, was considered as too much of a chit to obtain notice, and when the *haut ton* consisted in that mellowness, and maturity of beauty, which half a century alone could confer. What an elysium for ancient ladies, but as the fashion of the Imperial Court may probably have changed since her ladyship's days, it may be some consolation for those ladies whose charms are on the wane, that there is still such a place as Quebec, where old age may still languish in a cotillion, or excite admiration in the country dance, by a display of agility so extraordinary at its years.

Wood is constantly used for fuel at Quebec. It is cut into small pieces so as to fit the stoves which are in general use in this country. This mode of warming a room is not usually acceptable to strangers from England, though habit reconciles to it. Coal fires are, however, I think preferable. There is something particularly exhilirating in viewing the blaze of a good fire so as to entitle it to rank among the superior comforts of life. In our mode of warming rooms, two senses are gratified, in the Canadian but one. There is this inconvenience also in the use of stoves, that the proportion of a good room loses of its effect, from the introduction of a funnel.

The people of Quebec are hospitable for strangers, though I have heard of some who have more than repayed them by the propogation of slanderous tales. I have known more than one instance in which domestic peace was successfully invaded by '*the arrow that flies in the dark.*' Against this, our sex have some protection. A high spirited man will not suffer his character to be *whispered away.* He will demand an instant explanation, but when the level is made at female fame, the sufferer droops without the means of resistance. In such a case it were almost a virtue to wish for an hour's possession of arbitrary power to inflict summary justice on offenders. The vice of scandal is, I believe to be found every where, but more particularly in confined situations. The inhabitants of such places are better acquainted with each other. The preference which is given to eminent merit is more impressedly felt by the environs, and the impossibility of finding circles of society extensively various, in which inferiority might stand a chance to raise its head, is the inducement to circulate suggestion's falsehood. The level which we cannot rise to may be established by the depression of others. The sentiments which I have

here expressed, flow from sympathy with merit, which I knew to be maligned.

Let me present you with a more graceful portrait. There is, I am informed in the neighborhood of Quebec, a gentleman emphatically distinguished by the name of the *Bon homme*. His frank hospitality I have heard much extolled. The passing stranger is invited to his board, and almost made to forget that he is such. Party, country, or connection form neither barrier or inclosure to his intimacy. He is universally diffused in acts of kindness. The name of this American *Man of Ross* must not be concealed. Whilst the endearing virtue of humanity is held in reverence, Quebec may boast of a Frazer.

The town is but indifferently furnished with hotels, or coffee houses. On landing I was recommended to one in the Upper town kept by a Jew. The accommodations were both dear and inconvenient. All the others are in the Lower Town. After residing two days here, I went into a boarding house, which was considered the best in Quebec, and accommodated in the most satisfactory manner at the moderate expense of a guinea a week. This house is kept by Madame Marijeau, a Canadian gentlewoman, and her daughters. It is situated in the *Rue Couliard*, in the Upper Town.

The markets of Quebec are cheap and abundantly furnished. I never was in any place where there seemed to be so great a quantity of good things at moderate rates. A turkey might be purchased for 15d sterling, and other articles of provision in proportion. Game is brought in, in large quantities. The mutton is very small. I have seen a maid servant returning from market carry a whole one in a basket on her arm.

French is much spoken in this town, but by no means with purity, to instance, in the words lait and beaucoup, they sound the t in the former, and p in the latter.

The parade is in the Upper Town near the Château. It is inconvenient on account of the irregularities of the ground. The Prince was regular in attendance.

The chapel of the French Recollets was used alternately by them, and the English, for the purpose of Divine worship. The service of our Church was usually performed by a Swiss minister. The military composed a majority of the Congregation.

Prince Edward has acquired much popularity in Canada by his affability. I was much impressed with the condescending attentions

which I one day saw him pay on the parade to an aged French priest. What was yet better, it appeared to be a natural emotion.

The public carriages here, cannot be paralleled for inconvenience. They are small, wretched chairs into which two persons may, with difficulty, squeeze themselves. That kind of a cart, called a buggy, which is in use among the farmers in some English counties, compared with one of these, might be considered as a triumphal car. If laughing were a specific for any disorder, it could not fail of being excited by attending to the harmony which results from the cracking of the whip, the chiding of the driver, and the jingling of the horse's bells, all blended in one grand unison.

The environs of Quebec are infested with prostitutes of the lowest order, who solicit the attention of passengers at noon-day. It will be evident that vice has made considerable progress, among the lower ranks in this place, when I assure you that I have been informed that these solicitations take place in the houses, and with the approbation of the parents of these unfortunate women. What step can human nature have to descend lower than this?

There are two vessels, the "Indian Trader," and the "Eweretta," which sail regularly between this port and London. They were constructed for the exportation of furs, and built exactly the same model. Their accommodation for passengers surpass anything I had an idea of. In good weather, you might cross the Atlantic in one of them, as much at your ease as if in a fashionable drawing-room in London. The price of a passage from England to Quebec is 30 guineas, returning, the demand is reduced to 25.

I here first saw some of the Indians. In one, unaccustomed to them, their appearance excites a sensation of horror, but this quickly dissipates. In Europe, we have many prejudices on their (sic) subject. I had been taught to believe that they were men of extraordinary strength. The fact is directly the reverse. A muscular European would manage three of them. It is an erroneous philosophy which inculcates that men are strong in proportion to the hardships they undergo. Hunger, cold, and watching will waste any human frame, and they have made such an impression on that of the savage. The man whose support depends on success in the chase, will often have occasion to practise abstinence, and when successful, it may be questioned, whether the surfeit, which the craving of nature occasions, will not equally tend to impair his constitution. The strength

of the savage is rather passive, than active. He can *bear* much rather than *exert* himself vigorously. This race of men are gradually wasting away. Circumscribed in their hunting grounds, the means of support fail them. Above all, the intemparate use of strong liquors contributes to enervate and destroy them. The savage returning from an expedition, benumbed with cold, and enfeebled with fatigue, would barter the world, (were it his), for a gallon of rum, nor give over drinking this fascinating liquor till his senses were overborne by the force of intoxication. It is needless to point out how unerringly fatal such a course of life must prove to those who pursue it. Were a cultivated European subjected to the same necessities, he would very soon have recourse to the same mode of blunting the sense of them. I have frequently thought hardly of the liberality of those, who, in possession of ease and affluence, inveigh against the intemperance of the poor, for occasionally deriving temporary comfort from the use of spirituous liquors. The man, who dines off two courses, sees the wines of half a dozen countries sparkle on his board, treads on Turkey carpets, may feel his spirits exhilirated by liquors, which are not ardent, though the porter and other labourers, whose occupations expose them to the blast of winter, would, in vain, endeavor to excite a temporary warmth by any other than spirituous liquors.

Raynall, the French historian has fallen into an error in describing the Indians as a race of men who had no beards. They, I believe, wish as much as possible, to eradicate hairs from all parts of the body except the chin, where probably, the effort would be ineffectual. Their beards are, in general, much lighter, and less thickly set than those of a civilized people, which, I suppose, proceeds from their animal humors, being more attenuated than ours.

The perceptions of the savage are acute. The lowest sound arrests his attention, and he traces the impression of footsteps through the forest, which are invisible to the eye of an European. They are peculiarly expert in the use of the bow, and the tomahawk. That intrepidity, which would expose itself to imminent danger, is, by no means, in repute among savages. To have deceived the enemy by stratagem, to have surprised him by superior vigilance, these are the boasts of an Indian warrior, and constitute the martial virtues, which are extolled. An Indian leader never voluntarily attacks without the consciousness of a decided superiority.

Conduct is generally moulded into a vice, or a virtue, according

as it suits the policy of the particular society, which pronounces on it. The old men of the Savage tribes feel that their numbers diminish insensibly, that many of the savage youth perish in early infancy from the severities attached to the situation of the female parent, and therefore wisely prefer the stratagem which saves, to that temerity, which, if oft repeated, would terminate in the extirpation of their nation.

In one point, the savage is eminently deficient,—he knows not gratitude. I here would be understood as speaking relative to the intercourse between him, and civilized man. It probably would be difficult to investigate how far it influences his conduct towards his fellows. In requital of those little offices which a savage can perform in a Canadian farm, though he were rewarded four fold, it would fail to make impression. If the next moment he were required to bring in a log of wood, or a pail of water, he looks for a fresh recompense. His avidity is insatiable. Probably there may not be wanting, modern Rousseaus who may consider gratitude as the weakness of a mind enervated by education, and its absence as a virtue, and then triumphantly point, in support of their doctrine to the conduct of the American Indian, to the "forked animal," pure unadulterated man as nature's prototype. Reasoning which sends us to seek for the perfection of human nature in the forest must be erroneous. Nature, cultivated by education towards perfection, may dictate to destroy another in self defence, but nature, thus cultivated, shrinks from grasping the scalping knife. It recoils from the meal of the savage who feasts on the flesh of his species. Such cannot be the dictate of nature, or nature's lord. Shall not gratitude then be deemed a virtue in defiance of the sophistry of misanthropes,—that it is agreeable to our nature is evident from the kindly sensation, which accompanies its emotion. Gratitude is certainly a tax on our self love, partially on our independence. He whose good offices contribute more or less to the promotion of our interests, and the consequent greater independence of our will, has certainly a right, occasionally, to bias that will, and suspend that independence in favour of his own views. The cheerfully entering into the advancement of those views is gratitude. How exquisitely attuned for social happiness must his feelings have been, who pronounced that no prospect could be so grateful, as that of looking in the eyes of one whom we have obliged.

Believe me to be, Etc., Etc., Etc.

London, March 22, 1795.

Dear Sir,

On leaving Quebec for Montreal, I determined to go by water. This mode of conveyance is usually preferred, as being in general less expensive than posting, and on account of the picturesque scenes which the banks of the river present. Nature appears here simple though not uniform, and attracts admiration, by a display of spontaneous beauties.

Many vessels pass, to and fro, with freight and passengers, whilst the river is open. The price of a passage is very inconsiderable, being only two dollars. The passengers usually subscribe a small sum previously for the purchase of accommodations—one is chosen to act as provider, and the money deposited in his hands. This can easily be effected as it is generally known some time previous to sailing, who are to be of the party.

We set sail with every appearance of making a quick passage, but the wind coming ahead, when we were abreast of *Trois-Rivières*, we were obliged to come to an anchor.

Trois-Rivières lies about half way between Quebec and Montreal. It runs out in a straggling manner to some extent. There is nothing here of that bustle, animation, and industry which is visible in other towns. The inhabitants appear indolent and listless.

The gaol of this town is a handsome building, and worth attention. A party of us went to examine it. Persons were confined here charged with various offences. The rooms in which they were imprisoned were far from inconvenient, and their treatment on the whole appeared to be liberal.

Cruel indeed is that policy which treats a suspected man, and a convicted one in the same manner. I am persuaded that many innocent men have suffered unjustly from the severe usage they have received on being committed. Unaccustomed to the rigors of confinement, they have sunk in despair, and neglected the attainment of that evidence which was necessary for their acquital. Probably no system of jurisprudence will ever do adequate justice in this respect. A man is committed for an offence, lies three months in prison, is tried and acquitted. What recompense is he to receive for the confinement he has sustained? I am apprehensive that this is an imperfection in the nature of things for which no remedy can be discovered, but that it is a grievance is unquestionable.

A French lady in Paris some years back was the first who caused me to think attentively on this subject. "Sir," said she to me one day "you appear to be enthusiastically attached to the laws and Constitution of England. Now I," said she, "have been looking over the memoirs of a person of your country, in which the case of a poor man is mentioned, who, in order to oppress him, was imprisoned on an affected suspicion of being guilty of a felony, by a country magistrate." I interrupted her to say that she would find that ample justice took place, when the cause came before a jury. She assented that the man had been acquitted on trial, but desired to know what redress he was to obtain for the imprisonment, previous to the trial. "In many cases," she continued, "nothing more than imprisonment is inflicted by your laws for very serious offences." "How then," said she, "do your boasted laws discriminate, (so as to hold out the pretext of doing justice), between imprisonment, considered as a matter of course, and imprisonment as a punishment for guilt, so as to induce the person who has been confined, and acquitted to feel the justice of the distinction." As I seldom continue an argument after I feel conviction, I was silent.

It was the remark of an ingenious writer, that no system of laws had ever yet been framed which brought a rich man, and a poor one, on equal terms into a court of justice:—So this imprisonment of an innocent man, previous to trial, seems to be one of those cases where laws, equal to all in general theory prove unequal in individual experience. The poor man alone suffers this previous imprisonment, and this from inability to find bail. His poverty deprives him of credit, though his acquittal proves him worthy of it. He who could discover a remedy for this defect in jurisprudence, without enabling an offender to elude punishment, might arrogate to himself no inconsiderable rank, amonk those who have been acknowledged as the greatest legislators of Nations.

In the number of persons confined in the gaol of *Trois-Rivières*, we discovered a Scotchman of the lower rank. He was of more than ordinary stature, and of bold, manly proportion. His figure was altogether interesting. Had we seen him in a prison in England, he would have only shared our sympathy in common with his fellow sufferers, but here, being the single native of Europe in this predicament, he appropriated it all to himself. The situation of a stranger in any circumstance carries with it the idea of somewhat forlorn, but

when poverty and imprisonment are annexed, it becomes peculiarly desolate. It has been observed by a writer of great sensibility, that whenever any figure presented itself before him, which, by its deportment, seemed to say, "behold, I am thy servant," it always disarmed him of that authority with which he was invested. So the appeal of "behold, I am a stranger," will be heard wherever even a lurking spark of generosity can be addressed. The language of its plea is simple. It says, "I am distant from home, relations, or friends. My sojourn in the land, lo! it is short. Let me not be oppressed."

We gathered round the Scotchman, and required his story. His tale was short, and unvarnished. He had been committed for an assault. Our Caledonian would have rebutted the charge, but was not believed. Guilty or not guilty was not with us the question. "In prison, and ye visited me." It was sufficient that he was there. The little tide of contribution flowed in from all parts, and we departed in peace. That man may have much of system in his benevolence, who could go trotting round a town to discover whether another was really guilty of a peccadillo, before he tendered him assistance, but believe me, my friend, he wants humanity.

We were much struck with the conduct of the woman who showed us the gaol. On tendering her a small *douceur* for her trouble, she declined accepting it, nor could we finally prevail but on condition, that she should receive it as a deposit to be expended for the benefit of the Scotchman, "for," said she, "he has none to help him," but he has though, for I'll be sworn thou hast done him an hundred good offices before now. This condition was freely acceded to on our part. I think it may be considered as great an act of injustice to deprive a person of the grateful consciousness of doing good, as of any other part of their property. Never in the course of my life have I said to any one, "do not give," or "you give too much," or, "he is an imposter." Heaven knows the current of charity runs low enough without endeavouring to check its course. Let the motive be pure, and the action will be *registered*. The best of us, on the great day of retribution, will not, I believe, fare the worse for a few set offs of this kind. You, my friend, I well know, would feel highly indignant to see, as I have, the assiduous parasite of a man of wealth arresting the half extended hand of benevolence, by some sneering remark, and afterwards extolling the profusion of his table as an *elegant expense*.

They offer you for sale at this town, a variety of articles made of

bark, in the form of pocket books, scissor cases, little boots, etc. These are curious in their construction, but so high a price was set on them as appeared to me to approach to imposition.

After the delay of a few hours, we returned to the vessel, which lay abreast of the town.

On the following day, there being no appearance of the wind shifting in our favour, and as the frost was expected to set in, I determined to post to Montreal. A young gentleman, who was going to join his regiment in Upper Canada, offering to accompany me, diminished the expense.

Posting is cheap here compared with Europe, and when the difference of convenience is considered, it ought to be so. The carriage is neither more nor less than a wretched cart, drawn by one horse. The expense was, I think, at the rate of a shilling a league, but in addition to this, there were two or three posts Royal, which, those who have travelled in France, know, are always charged double. This certainly is a heavy exaction, which it would be difficult to justify. The only way in which I could ever reconcile this usage to common sense was by supposing that horses were kept at a greater expense in large towns, than in the country, and that, in the country, they might occasionally be employed in other labour, when the demand for them was slack.

The regulations of the road require the driver to convey his passengers six miles within the hour, otherwise he is subject to censure. If it is the winter season, passengers are usually furnished at the Post House with large skins to secure their legs, and bodies from the inclemency of the weather. Thus equipped, they may bid defiance to the pelting of the storm. The roads are but indifferent. It is necessary to pass over a number of little bridges, constructed of the trunks of small trees placed parallel in a transverse direction.

The peasantry appeared to be cheerful and happy with a singular vivacity of spirits. As the road runs, in general, near the river, travellers have occasional views of it, in the course of the journey.

We arrived at Montreal on the 1st of November.

This town is situated on an island, at the foot of a high mountain, on the border of the St. Lawrence. It is not equal in size to Quebec, but has considerably the advantage in point of cleanliness. On the whole, Montreal has more the appearance of a middle sized country town in England than any place I saw in America. The prin-

cipal streets are flagged. The houses are built of stone, on the French plan, with this exception that they are in general, much lower, and present a greater appearance of neatness than French houses usually do.

Montreal appears to me to have taken its name from the mountain in its neighborhood, as the country is, in general, level for a considerable extent.

We stopped but one day at this place, as the last brigade of batteaux for the season proceeded, the day after we arrived for Cataraqui. Had we neglected this opportunity, we must have wintered at Montreal, but, as in the August following, on my return, I resided a fortnight in this place, I shall bring forward, at present, for the sake of method, the information I collected at the different periods.

Montreal, considered as a place of strength, could make little, or no resistance. Its fortifications are entirely out of repair. There is a fort on a small eminence, as you enter the town from Quebec, but, I believe, that few military men would hazard their reputation by undertaking to defend it. This place was taken by General Montgomery in the last war. Our Government probably are the more indifferent as to its state of defence, from the consciousness that those must always be the final possesors of Montreal, who are masters of Quebec, and have the command of the St. Lawrence.

The first battalion of the 60th, or Royal American regiment of Foot was quartered in Montreal during my stay. It would be ungrateful in me not to mention the very high sense I entertain of the hospitality of that corps and the peculiar attention I received from individuals. This regiment always remains in America, or the West India islands. It consists of four battalions. Previous to the war many gentlemen who were ambitious of rapid promotion used to purchase in it, as vacancies more frequently occur than in others. It is the largest regiment in our service. In the evenings of summer, their band generally plays for a couple of hours on the parade, which is the great public walk. The barracks, which are in the Notre Dame street, appear to be roomy and convenient.

The amusements of Montreal are exactly similar to those of Quebec. In winter, all is dance and festivity. Spring however makes its appearance at the former, a month earlier than at the latter, from its more southern situation.

There are in Montreal but two houses of general reception for genteel strangers,—Dillon's hotel, and Sullivan's Coffee house. The former is in the square near the Notre Dame street, and the other is adjacent to the market place. The latter house is most frequented, as being the longest established, and the general resort of people in business, but the former has a decided advantage in situation and superior accommodation.

The markets of Montreal are furnished abundantly, but provisions in general are not to be purchased on such reasonable terms as at Quebec.

Strangers, who intend making a delay in the town, would do well to get themselves accommodated with board and lodging as early as possible. In this, they will find their account, in the article of expense as well of society. There are more establishments of this nature at Montreal than at Quebec. Mrs. Warren's in the St. Joseph street is the best house of this kind, and generally frequented by persons from England. Madame Maran's in Notre Dame street is also conveniently situated. The prices in general are from four to six dollars a week.

I have seen few places where a veteran officer of moderate income might entrench himself for life better than at Montreal. He could live well on moderate terms, and feel himself of consequence.

Believe me to be,

Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, March 29, 1795.

Dear Sir,

The question has often been mooted by politicians, whether the provinces of Canada were an useful acquisition for Britain or not? Just reason would, I believe, induce to pronounce in the negative, did not the advantages arising from the possession of their Fur market turn the scale to the side of the affirmative. This it is which renders Canada valuable. Distant as its towns and population are from the sea, and yielding only corn, with which its neighbors are superabundantly furnished, it would be deficient in the means of obtaining the manufactures of the parent-country did not this expensive commodity enable it to make returns for the conveniences and comforts transmitted from England.

The American furs are by no means equal to those of the north of Europe, either in size or quality, their down yielding to those of Russia in silkiness of texture. These defects are however compensated by their cheapness. The great market for our American furs is China. This country had previously been supplied by Russia, but by no means in adequate quantities, and consequently at a rate which caused them to be regarded as one of those superior luxuries which could only be obtained by those who were in possession of ample fortunes.

In this state of things our low priced American furs, being exported, were purchased with avidity, and as the extensive population of China could only be supplied, after a series of years, the demand for this article was kept up for a long time in its original spirit. At length, it begins to languish, not so much from any caprice, or change of fashion, as the nature of the merchandize. When a general supply had once taken place, an annual addition comparatively small would suffice to keep it up, and not being of a perishable nature, ordinary care would render a suit of furs, a kind of hereditary possession in a family. The inhabitants of Canada however continue to receive considerable returns by means of this article, though from the unexpected abatement in the demand, many of the Montreal merchants have latterly lost by their speculations. Formerly, when the French first possessed this country, an annual fair was held at this town, for the sale of furs, whither the Indians resorted from all parts. At present the Fur trade is principally carried on by what is nominated the North-West Company. I do not believe that this body possesses any exclusive privilege but what it has assumed, though it does not hesitate to consider and designate as interlopers, those who, unconnected with them, attempt to participate in the trade. Indeed any enterprize of this nature is attended with considerable danger, as the clerks and servants of the Company are stationed in so connected a line of strong settlements in the Indian country, and are at the same time so jealous of their employers' interest, that few single traders are to be found sufficiently hardy to venture themselves among a set of men, who would not confine their resentment to empty menace.

With respect to the commercial intercourse between the savage and the civilized man, it is, I believe, unnecessary for me to remark that every transfer from whichsoever side it takes place, is most to

the advantage of the latter. The former buys dear, and sells cheap. This is the result of his situation. Competition is not permitted. His wants can only be supplied from one quarter. The craving necessity of his nature will not permit him to dispute the price of his gratification.

How vague, how capricious is the morality of commerce. It devotes the negro to slavery, because he is black. It presents the American savage with a bottle of rum, adulterated with water, in exchange for a skin, two guineas in value, because he is copper coloured, and for this, its agent is the white man who negociates the whole without once blushing.

The members of the North-West Company are, in general, men of opulent fortunes. They are almost exclusively admitted from the body of their own clerks and servants, whose labors are thus recompensed, and their industry stimulated. The general interest of the Company too is thus best secured, as it will be impossible for confidential dependants to elude the vigilance of interested experience or refuse to practise that severe economy of which their superiors have already set the example.

It was under the patronage of this society that an attempt was made, about five years since, to traverse the American continent, and ascertain its breadth in this part. It was suggested to the adventurer to endeavour to make the Pacific ocean about the latitude of Nootka Sound. Mr. McKenzie, a native of Scotland, a gentleman connected with the Company, was the spirited individual who undertook this enterprise. He had proceeded a considerable distance, with every prospect of success, when the Indian, who had been prevailed on by considerable promises of reward to accompany him, and on whose skill in archery he relied for support refused to advance any further, being apprehensive of injury from the strange tribes of Indians they had fallen in with. Nothing could change his resolution, and Mr. McKenzie was compelled to return at a period when success appeared certain, having followed the course of a river for some time, which there was every reason to expect would discharge its waters in the ocean, near the destined latitude. McKenzie returned, but the ardor of genius is not easily repressed. He resumed his enterprize. After having adopted all those precautions which human prudence could suggest to facilitate his plan, then trusting much to what in great undertakings much must be entrusted, namely, chance, he boldly pene-

trated the gloom of a forest which human footsteps had hitherto found infinite. At the time I was at this place, he was absent on the second expedition.

Such are the men on whom history, anecdote, and memoir love to dwell. How inferior the little race of conquerors, to men like Columbus and McKenzie. Whilst the former, with the loss of thousands of human beings, scramble for the possession of a hill, or a plain, the latter, at individual risk, discover the scheme of creation, and present the discovery for the benefit of man. View McKenzie, facing the desert, famine, cold, and the caprice of every savage who crossed his path, and if Fortitude deserve the laurel conjure up Caesars and Alexanders to support the claim.

The history of Canada, previous to the conquest of it by Wolfe, presents little interesting. It consists in a series of expeditions undertaken by unsuccessful adventurers,—in accounts of private interests superseding all sense of public advantage,—of the mistaken zeal of missionaries rendering them useless victims in the cause of religion, and the equally mistaken policy of the first commanders, who took part in the disputes of the natives, to the injury of the colony.

The following is a brief statement of different expeditions down to the building of Quebec, which is brought forward rather for the purpose of pointing out the foundation of the settlement, than as conveying either pleasure or instruction.

The name of the province, Canada, is thus derived. There is a tradition that the crew of a Castilian ship, landing in the bay of Chaleurs, in quest of mines, and finding nothing of that kind exclaimed acqui nada, "here is nothing," which being overheard by the Indians they repeated it in an imperfect manner, so as to pronounce the sound Canada, and adopted this as the name of their country.

In 1497, Sebastian Cabot discovered the continent of America. He sailed hither by virtue of a commission from Henry the 7th of England, but no settlement was made then.

Father Charlevoix says that John Denys, a native of Honfleur in Normandy, drew a chart of the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1506.

Thomas Aubert, a shipmaster of Dieppe, brought over to France some Indians of Canada, in 1508.

The French Court did not bestow any attention on Canada, till the year 1523, when Francis the 1st equipped four vessels under the command of Verazani, a Florentine. The particulars of this voyage

are not known. This man commanded in two other expeditions, without any intelligence resulting. It is supposed that he perished in the last.

In the year 1600, Monsieur Chauvin, sailed to Canada, accompanied by Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo. In a second expedition he was accompanied by Samuel de Champlain, a gentleman of St. Onge, who had been a captain in the navy.

In 1608, Champlain began the settlement of Quebec, which is distant 120 leagues from the sea. The name is derived from a word in the Indian language, which signifies a straitening, the river here narrowing on a sudden.

Montreal was an ancient Indian establishment, under the name of Hochelaga.

Subsequent to the founding of Quebec there was a pious rage in France to emigrate to Canada. The harvest was represented as abundant and the labourers but few. Missionaries of both sexes entered on this new crusade, most of whom met with the fate of their predecessors in Palestine I know not whether you would be grateful to me for recounting to you the honors which were paid the holy sisters on landing, or the pains they took to merit them, by a cheerful submission to the duties which are connected with attendance on hospitals, in fact they acted as physicians, both of soul and body. On the whole this Colony was neglected or regarded in proportion as the dissensions in France permitted, or the temper of those in power, induced them to cultivate the arts of peace.

At the commencement of the present century, during the period of the regency, the *éclat* of the Mississippi scheme once more turned the eyes of men with speculative attention on Canada, but it was only to withdraw them with distaste, as not affording those advantages which the romance of fancy could alone have suggested.

I shall now return to modern Canada.

There is at Montreal, as at Paris, a *Hôtel Dieu*, for the general reception of indigent sick. I have always thought that the French establishments of this kind are on a better footing than ours. In England, it frequently takes so much time to make interest to get a person into an hospital, that the soul of the patient fairly takes its flight in the interim. I was much pleased with the appearance of an affected piety and simplicity in the good ladies who were in attendance at this hospital, and was peculiarly struck with the neatness of

everything in their apartments, which regarded as an agreeable presage that the same was attended to in a quarter, where it is so indispensably requisite. I allude to the sick wards. I am firmly persuaded that a pure air, and attention to cleanliness disarm any malady of half of its virulence. Whatever I saw on this occasion would have sustained the scrutinizing eye of even the philanthropic Howard.

Whether the good deeds of the original missionaries have been visited on their successors, I will not pretend to say, but certain it is that the Clergy of Lower Canada are at present in a situation of ease and abundance that might be envied by all the other members of the Gallican Church as the Angel of Affliction has certainly passed over them. As it is usual with these religious bodies to offer up prayers, on stated days, for their benefactors, I would suggest the propriety, on occasions of this kind, of inserting on the list, all those who had any hand in drawing up "the capitulation of Quebec."

The Bodies of Regular Clergy in this Province are, in general, most amply endowed. Some of them are intrinsically opulent. Tho' there doubtless are many persons who think that a less affluent provision would suffice, yet it is generally agreed that their morals and conduct are without stain, and without reproach.

The French Canadian is probably the most bigoted of human beings. This however cannot be deemed the best time for paring off the excressences of superstition, when the very body of religion seems in danger of dissolution. For my own part, I have ever thought that even superstition itself was an error on the best side. Some men there are who are never satisfied, but when they are either what they call, *rising superior to prejudice* in matters of religion, or instructing those around them so to do. These never deem themselves clear of the fence of superstition till they have dashed intrepidly into the horrid void of Atheism. Whenever such men or their doctrines are found useful to human society, I shall then grow indignant against the weakness of superstition.

The seigneurs or noblesse of this country are, in general, indigent. Probably this may have been brought on by an attempt to vie in appearances with the active sons of commerce. This must ever be the event of any contest between industry, whose resources are hourly increasing, and indolence, whose means are stationary. In these modern times, since the value of commerce has been properly understood, there seems to be a kind of happy necessity imposd on most

men of being in some respect useful. Few indeed are they whose fortunes are so very affluent as to condemn them to languish in inactivity. Men may commence life on terms of equality, but those who are listless and indifferent will soon feel the necessity of falling off from the side of those who were the companions of their youth, and have been stimulated by industry. In England, the pride of ancient wealth and nobility scarce restrains from participating of the sweets of commerce. Would it not then almost cheat the face of melancholy herself into a smile before she was aware, to see the colonial noble of a little province standing indignantly aloof from any exertion of talent, as derogatory to his consequence, though he is at the moment laboring under, what may be emphatically pronounced, the aggregate of human misery, *Domi inopia, foras os alienum*, poverty within doors and creditors without. Could these gentlemen be only persuaded how very unimportant their pretensions are in the great scale of things, they might possibly be induced to barter a little consequence for much comfort,—they would permit themselves to be useful and to be happy.

Believe me to be,

Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, April 7, 1795.

Dear Sir,

It is usual for those who wish to proceed to the Upper Province from Montreal to apply to Mr. Clarke, a Government Agent, who will furnish them with an order to the leader of the batteaux to receive them on board. Those who are in the service of Government have an extra order to be furnished with certain rations of provisions. When I mention that these rations are composed of cakes of very coarse bread, and pieces of pork, impregnated with brine, it will not be necessary for me to point out to persons of condition to furnish themselves suitably, previous to embarking.

The batteaux are stationed at a village called Lachine, distant about nine miles from Montreal. This distance may be considered as the first check which the European commerce with the Upper Province meets with. English goods, after being landed at Montreal, must be conveyed in carts to Lachine,—then unloaded, and reembarked in batteaux. The water runs so shallow from this village to Montreal, as

not to be navigable, even by these vesels. Batteaux are flat bottomed boats in the form of canoes, peculiarly calculated for this navigation as drawing not more than three or four feet of water. Five men are especially allotted to work each batteaux,—four row, sitting on the benches, the fifth acts the part of a steersman, occasionally shifting a short broad paddle, from side to side, which he uses as a helm to direct her motion.

In passing from Lachine to Cataraqui, it is necessary to row the whole way, as they proceed against the current. Their progress is consequently slow, not being more, on an average, than 18 miles a day, so that in going to Upper Canada it takes ten days to perform a navigation, which, on the return, by aid of the current, may be accomplished in two. There are two or three portages, or carrying places in the course of this passage, when the goods must be unloaded, carted, and reloaded.

The batteaux generally proceed in, what they term, brigades, each consisting of about ten or twelve in number. At evening, they generally put ashore at some straggling house on the bank of the river, or pass the night in the wood. All this was new to me, and, as such not unpleasing. You would be surprized at the quickness, and dexterity with which the batteaux men cover in themselves, and the passengers for the night. On landing, all hands are employed. One strikes a light. Another collects withered leaves to receive it, whilst different parties bring in their collections of any wood, and instantly you have a blaze in every direction, with various groups encircling them. Poles are then suspended transversely from tree to tree, and over these are placed the bark of trees, coarse rugs, oil cloths, and other coverings to keep out the weather. Some dry wood is thrown under, and over this your blankets and mattrasses are deposited. This is the employment of a part. The remainder are busied about supper. The rations are produced, and soon dressed at such extensive fires. Refreshment is then sought in sleep, and long ere the dawn, the active are in motion. As it was winter, the fires were kept up.

When I awakened the first night, and viewed the scene around, it brought to my recollection, Homer's description of the Trojans encamped before their walls, collected in companies around their fires, their faces whitening at the blaze and anxiously expecting the approach of morn.

The village of Lachine, from where the batteaux set out, is said

to have received its name from a peculiar circumstance. A foreigner of distinction, many years back, arrived at Montreal, where he gave out that it was his intention to traverse the continent of America in that direction, so as finally to arrive at China.

The road, at present, from Montreal to Lachine is remarkably bad, but at that time it was much worse, so much so that our adventurous traveller in proceeding on his route, met so many difficulties in these nine miles, that he fairly relinquished his pursuit, and returned to Montreal. The satirical French Canadian, in memory of this event gave the name La Chine or China to the place where the boasting foreigner had terminated his tour.

There is an Indian village in the neighborhood of this place. They have a Church, and have made some progress towards civilized life.

When the batteaux proceed in brigades, they are under the direction of a person, who is termed the conductor.

I left Lachine on the 3rd of November, 1792, to go up the rapids with the last brigade of the season, from which time, until spring, all communication is cut off on account of the severity of the season. The only intercourse that takes place in the interim is through the medium of a single express in winter, conveyed by Indians through the woods, about the month of February.

Finding in the course of the first day, that my limbs were benumbed with cold, and that it was altogether an uncomfortable mode of proceeding, I determined on attempting to get forward by land. It was in vain that different persons endeavored to dissuade me by pointing out the difficulties which would occur in a journey through the woods. I considered that this mode of traveling would give me a greater insight into the nature of the country and that the odds were in my favor, on the whole that I should by this means meet with greater conveniences. The event justified my expectations. There was a man in one of the batteaux, going up the country in search of employment, who, hearing of my intentions of going by land, offered to accompany me, and carry a few articles, if I would bear his expenses. To this proposal, I cheerfully acceded, and felt my hopes of success in my expedition augmented. It appeared to me in the light of one of those "pleasing surprises which often happen to active diligence, where many things difficult to design, prove easy of perform-

ance.'' So, borrowing a fowling piece from one of the passengers, I quitted the batteaux the next morning at the Cascade.

The Cascade is distant about ten leagues from Montreal. The waters run in a very strong rapid for some distance, previous to their arrival at the place that is peculiarly called the Cascade. Here they narrow and precipitate themselves over shoals, rocks, and stones in such a manner as, (owing to the conjoint form of the impediments) to descend in the figure of an inclined plane. A pilot is very often taken on for this very difficult navigation at the village of Johnston. It requires considerable skill to keep the exact channel, in passing which, the batteau of necessity goes within five or six inches of a cavern formed by rocks, down which a part of the waters are discharged. Should any accident bring a batteau in contact with this, no human power could avert destruction, from the passengers. So much have the waters been agitated in arriving at this part, and by collision with the stones, broken into their minutest particles, that the batteau appears to float merely on their foam, without being immersed in the body of the water. It may not be an improper caution to persons who think proper to descend the Cascade to beware least any sudden apprehension should induce them to start up in the batteau, as the consequence would inevitably be fatal to all those who were embarked. In general, however, strangers get out before they arrive here, and reembark at some distance below. In passing to Upper Canada, merchandise is unloaded here, and the empty batteaux drawn up a small by-canal.

On leaving the Cascade, we walked on about seven miles, when we arrived at Johnstown. This is a decent village for this country, and where tolerable accommodation may be obtained. Its principal claim however to remark is, that it is the last to be found in this direction till you arrive at Cataraqui.

After passing Johnstown, the traveller must commit himself to the chance of meeting a public house, hospitality and such accommodation as he can obtain, in the straggling cottage of the peasant.

Two branches of the river must be passed in canoes.

The day after I left Johnstown, I heard by accident that there was a house which had belonged to the celebrated Sir William Johnson, some distance from the road. I had always admired the eccentricity of Sir William's character, who certainly was not a man of modern mould, and could not determine to lose an opportunity of examining

his rural arrangements. I therefore struck out of my course some two or three miles to the River Raisin. On my arrival, I was informed that Captain Byrne, a gentleman in the neighborhood would, as it was not doubted, gratify me with a sight of the house. I waited on this gentleman, who told me that I had been deceived by those who informed me that the house had been Sir William Johnson's, as it was a modern erection of his son, the present Sir John Johnson, who was then absent. Captain Byrne, with much politeness, insisted on sending his son to shew it to me. It is a small country lodge, neat, but as the grounds are only beginning to be cleared, there was nothing of interest. On our return, the Captain pressed me with so much frank hospitality not to proceed till the following day that it was impossible to decline. It was early in the evening. It is with pleasure I recollect the attentions I received, which I shall not quickly forget. Some gentlemen of the neighborhood came in, and time passed imperceptibly in conversation, that was supported with spirit and intelligence.

Captain Byrne bore his commission in a corps raised by Sir John Johnson, in the American war. Every opinion, which I afterwards heard of him, confirmed the favorable one with which I had been originally impressed.

It was thought by many persons in this country that Sir John Johnson would have been created Governor of the Upper Province, at the time the present one was appointed. His own, and his father's services, his hereditary ascendency over the Indians, and his connections in the country were reason, which it was supposed, would have caused him to have been selected. Possibly the latter of them, namely, his connections in the country were the single impediment. It has been the general policy of English ministers not to appoint a man to the Government of that country where his connections are settled. Of this gentleman, who was then absent in England, I know nothing more than what general report spoke, and that report was favorable.

There was in circulation numerous anecdotes of the late Sir William. You will probably not deem the following unworthy of attention.

The ascendency of Sir William over the Indians was kept up by frequent intercourse. At an entertainment given by him to the chiefs, the principal one, in the course of it, informed him that he had had a dream. The other desired him to relate it. He said he dreamed

that Sir William had made him a present of the fire arms, which were arranged in the room, in which they sat. The baron was rather disconcerted by this dream, as he well knew that it would cause a rupture with the chief, whose influence was considerable, if he did not take the earliest opportunity of fulfilling his dream. On the other hand, fire arms were the kind of presents he could least spare, and that which could be much used to his prejudice. A prompt decision was, however, requisite, and he immediately ordered the arms to be delivered to the Indian, who retired highly gratified. Shortly after, Sir William was present at an entertainment given by the Indian leaders, in the course of which he told the former chief that he had had a dream. He was desired to relate it. He said he dreamed that this Chief had made him a present of a particular tract of country, which he described. (This tract he well knew was much valued by the Indians as being a remarkable hunting ground). The Chief was sensible that a refusal would be attended with the loss of the friendship of the English. He therefore caused the land to be made over, agreeable to the Indian forms. After the ceremony was finished, he advanced to Sir William, and told him privately that it was not his intention to dream any more.

From the river Raisin, I proceeded in my journey, for some time, without meeting anything material. The roads through the woods are every where difficult, and would be in many places impassable, were it not for trunks of trees, which, at bad steps, afford firm footing. After two or three days travelling, bad weather drove me into a cottage for shelter. A gentleman in the neighborhood, (Captain Frazer), being informed by the proprietor of the circumstance, invited me to his house, where I continued till the next day. I had some conversation with this gentleman, on the state of the country. He informed me that he had discovered lead mines on his estate. The samples he produced seemed pregnant with ore, but as the doctrine of minerals was a subject in which neither of us affected to be conversant, we could not determine whether it was of the white or black kind. The opinions of others had induced Captain Frazer to suppose it to be the latter. Black lead is much more rare and valuable than white. In England, I believe, it is principally discovered in the county of Westmoreland.

I took charge of some samples which I delivered to the Governor, who had expressed a desire to have them transmitted to him. No doubt

every attention has been paid to discover how far the ore was valuable, and the mine of an extent to render it worth working. Nothing, it is to be presumed, has been neglected, in case of approval, which could render it generally useful to the country, and beneficial to the proprietor.

It is to be remarked of this part of the country, to some extent, that scarce a twig was cut in it, till the year 1784. To a philosophical mind, no prospect can be so grateful, as the progress of culture. A small patch of waving grain,—a little eddy of smoke, scarce surmounting the tops of the trees, and announcing a human habitation,—the cheerful crowing of a cock,—all gratify, when unexpectedly encountered. They bear testimony that man is gaining on the desert, and that the blessing of existence is about to be extended to a greater number of rational beings, from the increase of their support. The man who could pass through a country like this, and occasionally see a new and more commodious habitation, arising by the side of one hastily constructed, and inconvenient, without feeling strong emotions, may be good for an hundred purposes. He might have all that fine feeling which renders men exquisitely alive to self-love, but he knows nothing of the social.

Almost all the persons who reside in this part have been in the army, and at the peace, received grants of lands, and the officers half pay. At the time I passed through, the lower orders were killing their hogs, to lay up as store for winter provision. In so infant a settlement, it would have been irrational to expect that abundance which bursts the granaries, and lows in the stalls of more cultivated countries. There was, however, that kind of appearance which indicated that with economy and industry, there would be enough.

I was advised here to return to the batteau, as it would be impossible to proceed much further by land, on account of some impassable swamps. One soon after appearing in view, I embarked, and arrived in about three days, without anything material occurring at Cataraqui.

Believe me to be,

Etc., Etc., Etc.

London, April 15, 1795.

Dear Sir,

At the extremity of the rapids, and the entrance on the lake Ontario, is situated the town of Cataraqui. This place is, like every other in Canada, to the southward of Montreal, very inconsiderable, consisting, principally, of one street, in the nature of a quay, extending along the border of the river.

There is a small fort in here, in which a company of the 60th regiment performed duty. Of this regiment, which is named the Royal American regiment, it is to be remarked, that it is the largest in His Majesty's service, consisting of four battalions. Another peculiarity is, that it is almost constantly stationed in America, or the Islands. Military men, however, frequently purchase, by preference, into this corps, as experience has evinced, that promotion in it was more than usually rapid.

When I was last at Cataraqui, Captain Porter was commanding officer. This gentleman unites, to very pleasing manners, an extensive knowledge of the world, and a portion of literary acquirements, not usually found among gentlemen of the sword. This latter qualification probably was the cause of his being selected to act as Judge Advocate at Quebec, on the trial of the mutineers of Prince Edward's regiment, on which occasion his conduct was stamped with general approbation. A mind well informed is highly estimable even in Europe. It becomes invaluable, when encountered in the wilds of Canada.

The situation of Cataraqui is, on the whole, one of the most desirable, I met with in Upper Canada. The walks and rides in the vicinity of this place are highly picturesque.

As it was known to be the intention of the Government, to erect a town as the Capital of Upper Canada, and seat of Government, opinions were necessarily various as to the propriety of its situation. Some decided for Niagara, others for Cataraqui. The Governor adopted a third opinion in favor of an establishment at the river La Trenche, situated about 50 miles to the South-west of Niagara. Toronto on lake Ontario, distant about 35 miles North-east from Niagara was afterwards selected as being a more convenient situation, biassed most of the inhabitants to decide for their own settlements.

Unconnected with the country, I will assign to you the reason why I would suggest Cataraqui, as the most eligible site. The advantages,

requisite to be combined in such a situation, are those of security and a commodious depot for commerce. With respect to the former, Cataraqui has a natural barrier to the North in the difficulty of approach by the rapids,—to the southward, in the ascendency of the British marine on the Lake, and more immediately from its contiguity to Carleton island, the possession of which must ever confer security on this place, but, in a commercial point of view, its advantages are beyond all competition.

It must ever be deemed the first point of wisdom in the founder of a city, to pay attention to local circumstances. Nature must not be forced, nor the progress of culture overlooked. A Peter the Great, 'tis true, and a few others have erred successfully against all rule. The shaking morass has been converted into firm foundation. The desert has, on a sudden, bloomed with culture and population, but it has been at the expense of humanity. In fact, such men are not models for modern subordinate projectors. The question is not now what a tyrant may do to excite admiration, but in what manner a delegated authority may be most usefully employed for the advantage of a great commercial nation. Now it appears to me, that the advantages of Cataraqui have not been sufficiently attended to. The country, in its neighborhood, is already in a comparative state of forwardness, with respect to population, and culture. The farms on the Bay of Quinté are the most flourishing, and the transport of their produce, the most convenient of any in the whole extent of Upper Canada. This alone, *ceteris paribus,* ought to suffice to obtain it a preference, but when to the advantages already enumerated is annexed its central situation, we, in vain, look for the motive, which could induce a preference elsewhere.

The advantages of a central situation are obvious. It tends to consolidate the strength of the colony. In place of a few straggling farms on the banks of a river, culture will make some progress, with the interior. Villages will arise in the centre of plantations, with the grounds of the inhabitants, diverging in every direction around. This will give a settlement, a compactness more beneficial to the individuals who compose it, and the government who protect it. Should Cataraqui be overlooked, and the establishment formed at Toronto, Niagara, or the river La Trenche, there will then be a distance of near 400 miles from Niagara to Montreal without a single town of strength, and without a single inducement to increase its present scanty population;

indeed so much is the reverse to be apprehended, that the probability is, that it will continually decrease by the inhabitants migrating to the neighborhood of the Capital, as the best means of rendering their industry valuable.

To those who are in authority, I would say, follow nature. By making your first grand establishment at Cataraqui, you insure a population that will be rapidly progressive in a country, from Montreal to that place of 180 miles in extent. If you do not, but select one of the above mentioned situations, you will leave behind you a tract of near 400 miles, which will every day become more desolate. You will have created a desert chasm, between the two provinces, when, for mutual advantages, there ought to have been a close connected population. The price of merchandize is already sufficiently dear to the consumer in consequence of two different freightages. Why annex to it the expense of a third to the inhabitants of the Capital, and its neighborhood before the increased resources of the country will enable them to sustain it. By making Cataraqui, the site of the capital, you take the only effectual step to improve the present difficult navigation of the rapids. From the increase of population in that neighborhood, so many will find an interest in its improvement, that canals will be cut near places of danger, to facilitate the intercourse by water between the two provinces. When this plan is accomplished, the colonials of Upper Canada will be on a level with their neighbors of the Lower province, in the ability of exporting their superfluous grain, and till it is accomplished Upper Canada must continue an establishment burthensome to the British Empire.

It may be gratifying to human vanity to say, "this have I done,—where now you see this good city arise, I did not find one stone laid upon another. Where you behold these fields of waving grain, the sun could not penetrate for shady woods." Yet all this may be a matter of reproach, if it be a forced, and unnatural production, if it is a partial good obtained by the sacrifice of general interest. The ruler, who promotes agriculture, certainly contributes to the feeding of those who are under his government, but he who enables them to carry their surplus produce to a foreign market, does more, for he assists in clothing. Praise is doubtless due to the founders of cities, and the leaders of armies, but superior reputation awaits those who, by laying open the avenues to commerce enable mankind to obtain, with facility, the comforts, and conveniences of life. This reputation will await him,

who renders the navigation, between Cataraqui and Montreal, convenient for the transport of corn and flour.

At a distance of about 40 miles to the South-east of this place, on the lake Ontario, is the fort of Oswego. This is one of the Western ports, which, by treaty, we are to deliver up to the Americans. The number of men stationed here is very trifling, indeed its only use appears to be that it is a connecting link in the chain of those Posts, which it has been thought necessary to erect for the protection of the fur trade. Vessels pass frequently between those places whilst the lake is open.

In the summer of 1792, two large transports arrived from England at Quebec. They had been taken up by government principally for the purpose of conveying American Loyalists to Canada, to establish themselves as colonists. Many of them, I was informed, had lands assigned them in the neighborhood of Cataraqui. The lower class of those emigrants, whom government protected, are provided for in the following manner: a certain portion of land being assigned them, they are furnished with some necessary implements of husbandry, a certain quantity of rations of pork, flour, and peas, which provisions are renewed to them, from time to time, for the space of two or three years, and thus furnished, they are what is there termed, sent into the bush, where they may cover themselves in, as fast as they please, and will find sufficient scope for the exertion of active industry. I was informed that, at the end of 3 or 4 years, many of these families are established in a very comfortable manner, though, at the commencement, it is certain, they must encounter many inconveniences.

It is an old adage, that a man's children are his riches, though the truth of this might well be controverted in England and some other countries, yet it certainly holds good throughout America. In the case of the poor man, it is particularly applicable. Such a person cannot have his quiver too well assorted with them. Their use, however, is not according to the Psalmist to enable him "to meet his enemies in the gate," but to cut down trees in the wood. In fact, as soon as a child can walk, he becomes useful in some shape or other. Personal labor is so dear, that every exertion of it becomes valuable. It might be thought that in a country like Canada, abounding in wood, fuel would be obtained at a small expense. That is far from being the case, as is experienced by those families, who are unconnected with farming, and therefore under the necessity of purchasing it. The

labor of felling the timber, cutting it to convenient lengths, splitting it into rude pieces, and finally conveying it to the house of the purchaser, renders it an article of considerable expense, nor is this all, for when thus brought home the pieces are only reduced to a size fit to be used in the kitchen. That which is intended for the other apartments, and the consumption of the stoves must still be divided, and subdivided into small lengths calculated for that purpose, a process which is performed with a handsaw by laborers hired for the purpose, who, at task work, can, by this means, earn above a dollar a day. The extreme cold which prevails in this country in winter and the want of coals render a proper provision of this article well worthy attention during the season of autumn.

The man who resides in these parts of America, without being engaged in some active pursuit, will quickly find his existence a dreamy void. There are no scenes for loungers. There is no regular supply of daily papers for perusal. In Europe, a man will, in general, find people as idle as himself, with whom he can communicate, but here, unless in the depth of winter, every moment is valuable. The exigencies of such infant establishments require unremitting exertion. An instance of this kind fell under my notice at this place. A gentleman from England had, a short time before, been appointed to a place under government, which did not adequately fill up his time. Unacquainted with tillage, he knew not how to employ himself. He appeared to labor under the pressure of inactivity, without the means of redress. He was a person of much good sense, and a competent share of information, but he could not meet with persons, sufficiently disengaged from necessary avocations to communicate with him. I would therefore seriously recommend to every person who purposes to emigrate to America to put this question pointedly to himself, "am I qualified for, and can I attach myself to trade or agriculture?" And this self examination is more particularly necessary for those who could live independent of either, as it is on such that the irksomeness of idleness will fall most heavy. In the towns and cities of England, the bustle of the crowd in which a man moves, offers disguises for him that he is doing nothing, and the relief of an evening club, carries him through the day, but where these are wanting, real business must be substituted.

The best houses of accommodation for strangers at Cataraqui,

are those of Darley and Robbins, the former an Englishman, the latter an American.

Those who want to proceed to Niagara, seldom want the opportunity of a passage, across the lake Ontario, about two or three days during the summer season as vessels are contantly passing and repassing, unless a contrary wind intervenes. All intercourse, however, by water, closes from the latter end of November, till some time in April by which time the ice, that accumulates in winter, is dispersed. Most of the vessels, which navigate the lake are in the King's service, others in the merchants. The price for cabin passengers is two guineas, and one for a servant. For this, they undertake to furnish necessaries. It will, however, be a very proper caution to make an extra provision, as the articles are seldom either abundant in quantity, or superior in quality. The distance, between the two places, is about 170 calculated miles. This inland voyage is performed in about 30 hours. It is however often extended, with unfavorable winds to three or four days. Persons accustomed to our fresh water lakes will think it extraordinary, that sickness is more likely to take place in traversing one of these inland seas, than in crossing the Atlantic. I have seen those who have repeatedly passed the Western ocean, without being affected, violently agitated on lake Ontario, during boisterous weather. The reason is that on the latter, in the case of a brisk gale, the waves break into a quick short sea, the rapid variation of whose motion agitates the bowels severely, whilst in the former, long sea, is generally encountered whose motion is more equable.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

London, April 24, 1795.

Dear Sir,

Niagara is the present seat of Government in Upper Canada. The prospect of it to a stranger is far from gratifying. It neither presents him with the regularity of ancient establishments, nor yet with the elegant simplicity of rural culture. The former might well be dispensed with, but the mind of man prone to anticipate, and combine images it deems analagous, does not so cheerfully acquiesce in the want of the latter. It knows the necessity of tillage to such

establishments, and regrets when it cannot discover the footsteps of the power of cultivation.

This settlement may be divided into Niagara, properly so-called, and the village of Newark. The former comprehends the fort, and a few houses erected at the bottom of the eminence on which the fort is situated. On the other side of the river Niagara, is Newark, where the Governor, and principal persons in office reside. This is a poor wretched straggling village, with a few scattered cottages erected here and there as chance, convenience, or caprice dictated. The Governor's house is distinguished by the name of Navy Hall. A family accustomed to the convenineces of England, must have found this a most uncomfortable abode. At present, however, additions and improvements have been made, so as to render it (words missing in ms.)

Its situation lying in a low bottom bordering on the river, with swampy patches in its neighborhood must be highly injurious to health, as the Governor, and part of his family, I was informed, experienced soon after their arrival.

The river of Niagara, in that part where the ferry is established, fronting the fort, is about a third of a mile in breadth. It is of considerable depth, previous to its disemboguing itself into the lake, which probably proceeds from its being the outlet of communicating lakes, whose accumulated waters, being here suddenly narrowed, have excavated a passage for themselves, more than ordinarily deep.

Colonel Simcoe, lately promoted to the rank of General, was Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, when I arrived there in November, 1792, and, I believe, still continues. I have already mentioned that Lord Dorchester is supreme Governor over both provinces, though it is supposed that he seldom interferes with the regulations of the Lieutenant Governor.

The creation of places and sinecures for the attainment of patronage have been not unfrequently objected to our Governors, but I think the most republican mind would acknowledge that there is nothing superfluous, either in the incomes or number of places in the Upper Canada establishment. Everything has been pared down to the very quick of economy. With the exception of half a dozen employments, I do not know of any that are rated at more than one hundred pounds a year, and those few in number. When I consider the many articles, for the supply of which these settlements are indebted to the mother country, and the high prices which the merchants are

obliged to dispose of them at, I have no difficulty in declaring that I think £60 a year in England, would go as far as £100 in Upper Canada.

The principal offices of the Government are those of Governor, Chief Justice, Attorney General, Receiver General, and Secretary of the Province, situations which are respectively filled by General Simcoe, and Messrs Osgood, White, Russell, and Jarvis.

Mr. Osgood, the Chief Justice has, I have been informed, been latterly promoted to the Chief Justiceship of Quebec, vacant by the death of Mr. Smith.

Nothing can be conceived more dreary than the united view of Niagara and Newark in the depth of winter—the river and mouth of the lake, choked up,—all communication frequently cut off between the two places by the drifting ice, wood on one side and the extensive water on the other. Such is the winter scene Niagara presents.

Provisions are particularly dear, and scarce at this season, as the farms are small, and the farmers are unwilling to break in on their small stocks, which they wish to preserve for breeding. Most of the large cattle which are killed are brought in from the States. Many of the inhabitants on the Newark side are furnished with bread by the baker, who resides in the Fort, so that when the ferry is prevented from plying longer than usual by the severity of the weather, the lending half a loaf confers no small obligation. The King's provisions, however, which some of the inhabitants are entitled to receive, contribute to render the scarcity less felt, than it otherwise would be.

Another great resource to all ranks here, is the quantity of fish taken by the seine in Niagara river. That which is most abundant is a species denominated the white fish. It is generally superior in size to a large mackerel. In point of flavor this fish can boast but little merit. It is too soft and oily, but then it is fresh, which is a very considerable recommendation. Detachments from the garrison were often engaged in this very useful employment. I have been informed that many hundreds were frequently taken at a single haul. Sturgeon are also caught in this river. If I recollect right, it is of the roe of this fish, that the dish called *caviare* is composed. In this case, it should seem that the common people here are pretty much of the same opinion with those in Denmark, in Hamlet's time, who, speaking of somewhat not generally relished, described it as being "caviare to the multitude." Sturgeon is held in very slight estimation at Niagara, though in my opinion, it possesses that firmness which seems to be the

great criterion of excellence in fish. In England it is deemed a luxury.

Another resource offers itself in the beginning of summer. At this period, vast flights of wild pigeons pass over this part of the country. They appear to migrate from the States of America, and, in general, fly very low, so that they are brought down in great numbers by the sportsmen of the country; and the Indians. It is said, the soldiers have occasionally knocked them down with sticks. It will require a considerable exercise of faith in a man, who has never travelled out of England, to believe, that these flights, in the course of a morning, if connected, would measure four or five miles in extent. Such however is the fact. The best time for meeting these birds in large quantities, is from about the time of sunrise till eight or nine o'clock. A small species of the wild duck is occasionally met with in this river, and its neighborhood, but it is of a fishy flavor. The Indians sometimes bring in venison. It has however little of that ferine taste for which it is admired in England. It has seldom any fat. The usual mode of dressing it, is to cut it into steaks which are fried. Now and then partridges are to be met with, but they are scarce. The only remaining game, if I may call them such, are squirels. Large black ones are found about this place in great plenty. It is a difficult matter to get within shot of them, from their great agility. The best mode is for the sportsman to give a shout, in which case the squirrel generally takes to a tree, and becomes an easy mark. Squirrels are frequently served up at dinner, and, if well dressed, it must be confessed that they compose a dish which prejudice alone could induce one to reject.

In speaking of the bay of Quinté, I omitted mentioning a species of fish which is found there in great plenty, namely the black bass. They are generally about two pounds in weight, and for firmness, and flavor are only inferior to the turbot.

Such are the supplies which nature presents, for the support of a man in these districts. For the rest, he must be indebted to his own industry in rearing them to maturity.

The houses, in general, through this Province are made of wood, and never exceed two stories, but, usually are of one. It might be supposed that such being the materials, they were liable to freqeunt accidents from fire. This, however, seldom happens. Many of the houses have a balcony or piazza of wood, erected in front, covered, and floored with the same material. This, the inhabitants term a

stoop. In such a country, it proves very convenient, affording in summer, shade from the sun, and in winter shelter from the storm, and contributes to health, by holding out an inducement to exercise, in every season.

At Niagara, as in all parts of Canada, they are much attached to dancing. During winter, there are balls once a fortnight. These entertainments are not like many English Assemblies, mere bread and butter billets, where nothing is to be met with but cold tea and vapid negus, but parties at which the exhausted dancers may recruit with a substantial supper, and extend their diversion beyond the tame limits of eleven, and twelve o'clock, hours at which a company only bgins to enter into the spirit of the amusement.

On my first entering the assembly at Newark, I felt much surprised at the gay appearance which presented itself. Feathers, trinkets, and all the paraphernalia, which distinguish the haughty dames of Britain, were here visible. Not expecting such a scene from the appearance of the country, I could not avoid silently interrogating myself, can I be at the extremity of the lake Ontario. The appearance of the military gentlemen, and of the ladies of the married ones, contributes much to enliven the scene, nor are the native ladies deficient in emulation and display. Many of them are very pretty women, and, after having figured at a ball, return home with renewed cheerfulness to the performance of those domestic duties, which are so peculiarly necessary in a colonial life.

The inhabitants of this country are very hospitable. Soon after the entrance of a visitor, spirituous liquors, and madeira are almost always introduced. Usages of this kind appear singular to Europeans. They are however founded in reason. Among a people, where the cold is extreme a considerable part of the year, where covered carriages are unknown, and the roads indifferent, with few houses of accommodation, it may be presumed that such refreshments cannot be unacceptable. Indeed, if there is occasion to employ any of the lower ranks, there is small progress to be made, without the aid of liquors. Pay what you will to them for any little service performed, the compact is never acknowledged as a just one, unless there is an appeal to the rum bottle, in the *dernier resort.*

Madeira, or a wine so called, is that which is usually drank in these provinces. Port wine is of inferior estimation. As the former, in England, is deemed an expensive one, I was surprised to meet with

it, among a description of persons, who, in the old country, would think themselves sufficiently regaled with a horn of home brewed. Many of these, are, however, connaisseurs in their palates, pronounce on the merits of madeira with a smack, and check it down with as much *sang-froid* as if it were their native beverage.

At the time I left the country, the Governor had taken some steps towards the establishment of a brewery, in the hope that the use of a wholesome malt-liquor might be substituted by the lower classes, in the place of ardent spirits. In this hope, he will, I am apprehensive, be, in a great measure disappointed. In manufacturing countries, malt liquors prove excellent refreshment for the sheltered artisan, who works under cover, in a moderate climate, but among a people, whose employments are in the open air, in a severe climate, recourse will be had to some liquor, that will act as a greater stimulus to the animal spirits, and excite immediately the temporary glow. It would no doubt be a most desirable circumstance, that this substitution could be brought about, as tending to the improvement of morals, by cutting off so fruitful a resource of delirious excess, as the intemperate use of drams.

The introduction of malt liquors, into general use, would have other good effects, by its encouragement of husbandry, as opening a market to the farmers, for the sale of barley, and further, by retaining those sums of money in the country, which must be annually disbursed for the purchase of a foreign article. It is, however, to be regretted that these advantages are encountered by an obstacle, too deeply founded, and it may easily be foreseen, that the nature of the climate, will render the plan abortive. Approbation, however, is due to the attempt.

It was a matter of surprize to me, not only in Canada, but in other parts of America, that spruce beer was not in more general use. It seems not to be in esteem, nor is it in that degree of perfection as in England. I had formed a previous idea that this was the common drink of the country, from the facility with which it could be obtained, and that the Americans would have piqued themselves, on bringing to its utmost degree of excellence, a liquor, which for some time was considered as one of the peculiars of their country. Taken occasionally as an alterative, the medicinal uses of this liquor, are, I believe, many. It certainly is a powerful antiscorbutic, and, in general, may be deemed highly efficacious, in all maladies which pro-

ceed from a languid circulation of the blood, or a costive habit of the body, qualities for which it is indebted to the fixed air it contains, which communicates its active influence through the human frame.

Dean Swift has somewhere said, that the man, who caused a blade of grass to grow where one had not been before, was of more use to mankind, than many heroes and philosophers. In like manner, it might be said with respect to this country, that he who could invent some machine for the levelling of trees, ought deservedly to obtain a high rank, among the benefactors of men. I have been led into this reflection by considering the great quantity of moist grounds and swamps, that are everywhere to be found in this country, which, corrupting the air, tend to render the days of man brief and languishing. The trees are in many places so thick, that the sun cannot penetrate the shady gloom. Even in the middle of summer, I have travelled through roads, where, at almost every step, the horse sunk above his fetlocks, in many places to his belly. Hence, the ague, with slow but certain progress, undermines the life of the husbandman, unstrings his nerves, prostrates him on the couch of sickness. His wife, his children are debilitated by the tainted breeze. The song of rural cheerfulness is exchanged for the small, slender voice of sympathetic wailing. All labor is suspended, and the little savings of industrious exertion, exultingly laid by to increase the stock of the farm, waste away, by the frequent necessity of purchasing expensive remedies, to check the progress of disease. Let the husbandman of Britain, who occasionally bends beneath the weight of his country's taxation, cast an eye on the husbandman of America, quite sunk under the taxation of nature. If he meditates a change of situation, let him figure to himself the wan cheek, and sallow complexion of the American group, whilst health glows on the cheeks, and sparkles in the eyes of his children. Labor, to him, brings strength, not disease, and he inhales vigor from the gate.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, May 2, 1795.

Dear Sir,

Scenes, such as I have described in my last, I have frequently met with in this Province. Indeed, few of any rank, escape this disorder, though the attacks are less frequent on those of superior condition, from their greater ability to use a preventive regimen. The seasons, when this disorder is most prevalent, are the periods of spring and autumn. The use of the bark, and a strong generous wine are among the best specifies that have yet been discovered.

I have often thought what an awkward circumstance it must prove to a military man, to be affected by this disorder at a period of hostilities. A high spirited character would unwillingly give way to the impression of a malady, whose attacks are intermitting, so as to decline an engagement, and yet what solicitude must he experience, least an unseasonable return of his complaint, should irresistibly impress on his limbs, that tremulous motion, which is deemed the usual concomitant of fear. How easy, at so cruel a coincidence, for envy, jealousy, or false friendship to whisper away a well earned reputation. I have conceived such a case, and felt for the sufferer.

As this malady proceeds from the country not being sufficiently cleared, and exposed to the genial rays of the sun, which would exhale its superfluous moisture, every encouragement ought to be held out to the skilful in mechanics, to direct their attention towards the invention of some machine, to expedite human labor in this particular. Sir William Johnson, whose memory is still dear to the inhabitants of this country, produced one, but it proved inadequate on trial. This, however, ought not to excite despondency. It must be, after numerous repulses that true genius will relinquish the path of science, and confound difficulty with impossibility, nor will the mathematician forget the boast of Archimedes, that, with ground to stand on, and an extensive lever, he would undertake to move the world.

Though there is little to interest in the prospect of Niagara, nothing can be more romantic than a road which leads from it, to a place, called "The Landing," about 9 miles distant. Its windings correspond with the course of the river, which is almost everywhere visible. In the summer evenings, it is the usual resort of those who seek air and exercise, and aided by the mild radiance of a setting sun, takes in at every open, land-scape worthy the pencil of a Claude. This is the direct road to the Falls.

The landing receives its name, from the necessity of unloading all goods which have passed the lake, and are intended for the upper country, at this place, the river of Niagara, not being navigable further. There is no regular town or village. Two or three scattered dwellings, with a few storehouses, and the King's wharf constitute, what is called, "The Landing." A temporary addition was made to this, a short time before I arrived in the country, by the erection of a connected chain of huts, on the bank of the river, in the nature of a barracks, for the accommodation of the Queen's Rangers, a corps of which the Governor is colonel. The situation was well sheltered by surrounding eminences, and convenient, but the probable effects of a stagnant pool in its neighborhood, were, I fancy, overlooked. To this it was attributed that an extraordinary mortality took place among them, in the course of the winter and spring. It was reported that deaths were so frequent that a man was induced to dig half a dozen graves, on speculation, and was buried in the last of them himself. Whether this anecdote was an unseasonable pleasantry, or founded in truth, certain it is, that numbers perished, before the approach of summer enabled them to remove to a more healthy encampment on a neighboring hill.

Not far distant from Niagara, is the Genesee country, belonging to the State of New York.

Mr. Poulteney has, it is said, purchased lands there on speculation, to a considerable amount, keeping an English agent to superintend his interests. When we consider the purchases of various kinds which this gentleman has made, both at home and abroad, he appears to have a peculiar attachment to *terra firma*, and whatever can be erected thereon. No man can object to him the *auri sacra fames*, for he always appears desirous of getting rid of it, on good security.

The fort of Niagara is one of the Western posts which, by treaty, we have agreed to surrender to the Americans, on the performance of cetrain conditions, which, I think, were:

1o. The restoring certain friends of the British government to their estates.

2o. The leaving their Courts of Justice open to the recovery of debts due to British subjects previous to the war.

How far the business has been arranged by the late treaty, concluded on the part of America, by Mr. Jay, I am not aware. The Americans have, for some time, claimed the delivery of the forts, as

having fulfilled the conditions. The English have refused on the ground that the conditions were not fulfilled.

There was little stress laid on the first condition, but with respect to the second, the English agreed thus:—true, it is said, they, our merchants certainly could bring actions in your Courts, but it was nearly impossible to meet with a jury that would give a verdict in their favor. So that, with respect to this condition, the English deny that it has been virtually fulfilled, and on this point, the two nations have been at issue without proceeding to extremities on either part. To me, it appears that the Americans have the best of the argument.

As the English have been more peculiarly tenacious of the good faith of treaties than any other nation, I am unwilling that they should forfeit any part of that character by pertinancity, on a point that will not bear it. If the English have sustained any loss, the blame, in my apprehension, ought to be imputed to those ministers who drew up the condition incautiously. The American administration did not, by that condition, undertake to guarantee the payment of the debts, but simply to put the British creditor on the same footing with the creditor of their own nation. It would have been a political solecism, in them to have said, "we undertake to force the consciences of men, who are sworn to determine, according to truth and justice. This we could not have said, but this we say, you have acknowledged the propriety of our tribunals, and submitted your interests to their decisions, by the terms of the treaty, and yet no sooner do you find those decisions unfavorable to you, than you retract from stipulations solemnly acceded to the American Legislature, which, contracted with you has performed all that it was bound to perform. It threw no obstacle in the way of the recovery of those debts, nor permitted the period of confusion and hostility between the two countries, in point of lapse of time, so as to constitute a bar of limitation against the claim of the British creditor. This reasoning is, I think, conclusive.

Oswego, Niagara, and Detroit are in the number of the contested posts. The great advantage to be derived from the possession of them is, that it secures an ascendency in the fur trade, but if the securing advantages were a plea for breach of treaties, what treaty would ever be fulfilled.

The 5th regiment of foot was in garrison at the Fort, during the time I continued at this place. The present Duke of Northumberland, then Lord Percy, was colonel of this regiment in the American war. Hostilities were, I believe, first commenced by this corps in that contest when ordered out to Lexington.

Major Smith, lately promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel was commanding officer at the Fort.

This military body has a very martial appearance. An unfortunate accident took place in July, 1793, which evinces that they will not be caught napping. An officer on guard, at midnight, directed a sergeant to pass over a palisade, which surrounds the fort, to discover whether a particular sentinel was attentive to his duty. Whilst the man was clambering over, he was challenged by the guard, and not answering, from an unwillingness to discover himself, he was immediately brought down by a shot from the sentinel, who gave this fatal proof of his attention to his duty. The ball had entered the sergeant's thigh. Every assistance was given, but after languishing a few days, the poor man expired.

The fort of Niagara may be considered as a place of strength, when compared with the means, which it is likely in such a country could be brought to reduce it. There is an *abbatis*, on the land side, which could not be passed without considerable carnage.

The Indians, in this part of Canada, are less reclaimed than those in the Lower Province. Much of the ascendency, which Sir William Johnson formerly possessed over the people, seems, at present to be transferred to Colonel Butler. This gentleman commanded a corps in the late war, under the title of Butler's Rangers. He is at the head of the Indian department. There is much trouble connected with this situation. To be always open to the visits of these people, to conform to their prejudices, and to rectify their mis-apprehensions, these are cares and difficulties which entitle a man to no ordinary recompense. As the Colonel is advanced in life, should age or infirmities deprive government of his services, they will find an able substitute in his son, Mr. Johnson Butler. After being educated for some time in England, this gentleman has resided latterly entirely in Canada. Accustomed to the language, usages and customs of the Indians from early life, these people will scarce be sensible of a change in transferring their regard from father to son. I have no difficulty in saying that I have seldom met so much manly, good

sense, unassuming manner and decided intrepidity in any character.

The Governor's regiment, (the Queen's Rangers) lay at the Landing, or in its neighborhood. This corps has little to boast of in point of appearance. The privates, in general, were small, feeble, illmade men, probably the less pains was taken in selecting them as it does not seem to have been intended that they should be confined to militia men. A part of them were hired out as servants through the country at the rate of about five dollars a month, the person who hired, at the same time receiving an intimation from the Adjutant to reserve one York shilling, or 7½d sterling per day, for the use of the corps, who understood trades, as carpenters. Shoemakers received much higher wages, and the reserve was in proportion. This plan, which under most other circumstances, I would have disapproved of as being unusual, tending to degrade the dignity of the service, was certainly suitable under the existing circumstances. In a country where personal labor was so very valuable, it would have been absurd to retain such a quantum of potential industry inactive. Whether it was to be exercised in the field, or in mechanics, the wants of the colony were, in both respects urgent. The Governor, therefore, with much propriety, permitted an arrangement which gave such a useful accession of strength to agriculture, and the necessary arts. You will be enabled to form some idea of the value of labor in this place, when I mention that the price of an ordinary pair of gentleman's shoes was one York pound or 12-6d sterling, and that a journeyman carpenter usually received two dollars per day.

It was natural to enquire in what manner this reserved money was employed for the benefit of the corps. I was informed from a quarter that ought to be deemed authority, that the greater part of it was expended in the purchase of wine for the use of the sick. As I was sensible that no remedy equally efficacious with a good strong wine for the general disorder, (the ague), could have been prescribed, this answer could not but prove satisfactory. Probably to this generous supply, it was owing that the corps had not been annihilated, when we consider the number which, notwithstanding, could not be rescued from the grave by this liberal regimen. It would be reflecting on the skill that presided to say that any died of intemperance. This was not once suggested.

Taxation is but little known in Upper Canada, indeed it could not well be borne by the bulk of the people. Hitherto the colony has

been most kindly fostered, and cherished by the British nation at its own expense. This, however, cannot be looked to as an arrangement which either can, or ought to be permanent. No commercial country, or indeed any country, can be supposed to support a colony, merely for the pleasure of doing so.

The Houses of Assembly met for their second session in the month of June, 1793, at Niagara. Ordinances were then enacted for making rates for the erection of Churches and gaols. They were, however, very moderate, and such as would be but little felt. With the rising prosperity of the Colony, greater ones must be submitted to so as to provide for all matters of internal police If I were to suggest an idea on the subject of taxation from a knowledge of the state of the country, it would be, that government, for a few years, should authorize its officers to receive the assessed taxes in rations of provisions. The adoption of this mode would prove a stimulus to industry, prevent the scanty capital of the colonist from being diminished, and prove, equally, if not more, beneficial to the state, which, at present, purchases victualling supplies to a considerable amount for the support of indigent emigrants and others. Thus would taxation, and the increasing prosperity of the country by population go hand in hand.

In the summer of 1793, great numbers emigrated, from the Northern States of America, to Upper Canada, with the prospect of obtaining lands. They were principally from Vermont, Massachusetts, and the neighborhood of the Mohawk river. In general, the farms in the States of America have three sets of proprietors,—the original colonist, who fells the timber, a second, who builds an indifferent house, and introduces some degree of culture, and finally, the opulent farmer whose capital enables him to give it that improvement it is capable of receiving. A proclamation of the Governor's was their inducement to come in. It cannot be supposed that all these people were satisfied with the proffers that were made them. Many were discontented. The Governor was aware that had he granted lands in the proportion required, it would have rendered those persons not settlers, but mere land jobbers, a description of men that he very properly took every opportunity of reprobating. The land jobbers of America may be considered in the same point of view, as those who make a trade of rack renting in these countries. When I deliver this opinion, I must be understood as speaking of them in their rela-

tion to the general welfare. The individual may be amiable as a private character, but his public conduct has a tendency injurious to the common utility. The good effects of this guarded policy will be felt materially. It will give Upper Canada resident inhabitants, and not nominal speculating proprietors enjoying the luxuries of great cities, without any other knowledge of the country, than what they derive from the charts of their estates. To such men, applying for lands, it would be always fair to quote the genuine agricultural maxim: "Praise a large farm, but cultivate a small one."

An institution of a nature perfectly suitable to such a country was established at Niagara, namely, an agricultural society. They had monthly meetings at Newark at a house called "Freemasons' Hall," where they dined together. It is not supposed that in such an infant settlement, many essays would be produced on the theory of farming, or that much time would be taken up with deep deliberation. Every good purpose was answered by the opportunity it afforded of chatting in parties after dinner on the state of crop, tillage, etc. Two stewards were in rotation for each meeting, who regulated for the day. The table was abundantly supplied with the produce of their farms, and plantations. Many of the merchants and others, unconnected with country business were also members of this society. All had permission to introduce a visitor. The Governor directed ten guineas to be presented to this body for the purchase of books,—a countenance honourable to himself, and to the Society.

A weekly paper has also been established at Niagara, the expense of which is defrayed partly by subscription, and partly by Government. A Londoner, who enjoys daily the means of intelligence, even to satiety, can form no idea what a luxury a packet of papers from England is, at Niagara, when at the beginning of spring, the communication is opened. The buzz of confused rumor and report bears analogy to that which Swift informs us took place in some Northern region, where men's words freezing at the commencement of a frost were thawed at its dissolution, into sounds, tumultuous and indistinct.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

London, May 9, 1795.

Dear Sir,

General Simcoe, the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, commanded a corps of partizans in the late war, denominated the "Queen's Rangers." He married a niece of Lord Graves, then admiral. With this lady he received a handsome fortune. Colonel Simcoe was considered as an officer of merit, and served with reputation, but whether the Government was intended as a recompense for his services, or its attainment is to be referred to the interest of Mrs. Simcoe's relations, opinions are various. The Governor appears in age to be verging to fifty. In figure tall, strong rather than elegantly formed, an open countenance, and an eye not void of intelligence. This gentleman is plain and unaffected in his manners. The opinion, however, impressed in general by his appearance was that he was a man of apathy.

Mrs. Simcoe is a lady of manners, highly interesting, equally distant from hauteur or levity. Accustomed to fashionable life, she submits with cheerfulness to the inevitable inconvenience of an infant colony. Her conduct is perfectly exemplary, and admirably conformed to that correct model, which ought to be placed before a people, whom a high pattern of dissipation would mislead, of extravagance would ruin.

The Governor's table is always well furnished, without any attempt at redundancy. In the pleasures of it, he is extremely temperate. His aids sit at top and bottom. His own place is in the centre of one side. I have always thought this the properest seat for a public character at his own board, it being that which brings his guests in the nearest possible manner within the scope of attention. At table, no person is permitted to think that he is overlooked. Some opportunity is taken by His Excellency of expressing notice, and this notwithstanding a general appearance of the most phlegm.

But methinks you grow impatient, and exclaim, "what! so many pages from my friend, and not a tittle relative to the state of letters in the country, the progress of science, but a slight allusion to the advantages arising from the introduction of that Constitution to which I know him to be attached.

Patience good, my friend. As to the state of letters, am I not writing of Niagara. However, we shall get on by degrees.

It would be absurd to suppose that this be a land, where learned men were abundant. I never met with more than three persons, whose claims to the character of a scholar would be acknowledged in Europe. At the head of these is to be placed the Reverend Mr. Addison, the English minister at Niagara,—next to him, Mr. Osgoode, the Chief Justice, and in the third place, the Governor. You will readily perceive from this arrangement that I am as tenacious as formerly of forming my estimate of talent by desert, and not in the common mode of drawing out a courtly rule to measure how many inches of station. How satirically just was Pope's idea

"Wise if a bishop, etc."

Mr. Addison ranks high as a classical scholar. His conception is quick, and his imagination vivid. His reading is extensive. The slightest allusion leads him into the path of your ideas, and his eyes tell you that he has not lost you.

As a scholar, Mr. Osgoode has much merit. It is evident that the labours of an active profession have not induced forgetfulness of University pursuits. He says good things, and is not insensible to those of others.

The Governor is a man of some reading, and a tolerable classical scholar. For a man of the world, he appears to be governed too much by maxims. This kind of knowledge, which borrows the brow and voice of wisdom, without being indebted to her for discrimination, ought to be relinquished to the inactive recluse, when he cannot by individual experience. To me, it appears that His Excellency has proposed to himself, as a model, one of Plutarch's chieftains. It ought, however, to be recollected, that not one of Plutarch's heroes was the governor of a modern British province.

There are other gentlemen, through the settlement, whose early destination to commerce, took up that period, which is usually devoted to what is termed, a regular education. Among these, Mr. Hamilton of The Landing, in the neighborhood of Niagara, and Mr. Cartwright of Cataraqui, take a decided lead. These are men who are both eminent as merchants, judges of their respective courts, members of the Superior Assembly, and qualified by strong natural parts, and some study to fill their stations, with credit to themselves, and advantages to the country.

The principal merchants at Niagara, are, Messieurs Forsyth, Dickson, Crooks, and McKay.

The house of Forsyth is one of those most extensively established in Canada. Three brothers carry on business at Niagara, Cataraqui, and Montreal respectively. They are connected, by family, with one of the first mercantile firms in London.

Mr. Dickson is a young man of strong natural abilities, with a competent knowledge of law, and the constitution. Annexed to these, is a disposition indefatigably active. I know few men, of whose talents, an attentive government would be more desirous of availing itself to perform the duties of a magistrate.

The Houses of Assembly meet at Niagara. The Upper one consists of seven or eight members. The Lower one of sixteen. These are to be increased by the Governor, for the time being, with the increasing population of the country. The Chief Justice is the Speaker of the Upper House, and a Mr. McDonnell of the Lower. As many of the members come a considerable distance, and are, in general, far from being in affluent circumstances, an ordinance was passed which grants to each member, a daily stipend, during the session, and for the expenses of the journey. This regulation is perfectly proper, and suited to the estate of the country.

I have already observed that you are not to consider *all* the laws of England as having been rendered law in Upper Canada. Such a transfer would have been useless, and inapplicable. The whole criminal code is however adopted. The general rules respecting admission of evidence are also comprised, and the trial by jury, but local ordinances qualify the English law in some instances, and reject it in others.

You will be amused, as I was, at the following anecdote.

As trial by jury had been but lately established in the country, it would not be supposed that juries were, as yet, adequately acquainted with their functions, or were sensible of their own powers and consequence. They brought, however, to the judgment seat, a steady attention, and consciences that trembled least they should judge amiss.

An advocate from England, of some authority, determined to avail himself of this apprehensive frame of mind to improve it into a means of influence. Thinking it probable, on a particular trial, from the circumstances that the jury would bring in a verdict against his client, he insinuated that, in such a case, he would bring a writ of attaint against them. A writ of attaint! Just God! does the feudal

system still prevail? or do we live in an age of chivalry. You may well suppose what a fearful doctrine this would have been to establish in such a country. Despotism itself could not have found a more ready instrument than juries acting under such influence. What a hair suspended sword over the heads of these unfortunate colonists, must this have proved. You know the judgment in such a case "to have their meadows ploughed up, etc., etc. See Blackstone, Vol. 2, page 403.

A writ of attaint at the close of the 18th century! Think you, my friend, that there is any Bench in Westminster Hall, whose gravity would not have been shaken by this, and the risible emotion felt through the extremest ranks of the Bar.

Previous to the arrival of Mr. Addison, the English clergyman at Niagara, marriages were contracted in presence of a magistrate who read the ceremony. This was the usage last century during the Protectorate of Cromwell, when marriage was considered as a mere civil contract, and took place at Niagara of necessity from the want of a person ecclesiastically qualified.

Divine sericve is performed on Sundays at the Newark side of Niagara, in the house called Freemason's Hall, which I have already mentioned. In good weather it is well attended and everything conducted with suitable decorum.

Freemason's Hall must not pass unnoticed. It is a neat compact building of wood and plaster. The avocations of Scrub in the play, numerous as they were, were nothing in number to the uses Freemason's Hall is converted to. A chapel, a Court of Justice, a Mason's lodge, an agricultural meeting room, a ball room, an Indian Council room, such are a part of the purposes for which this very useful building is applied.

Apropos of Courts of Justice. To one of these coincidences so rare, and therefore so valuable, it was owing, that I was at Niagara, when Mr. Peter Russell, judge, Receiver General, and an Englshman, delivered his maiden charge to a jury. Never did I more regret, the being unacquainted with the art of stenography. Posterity would not then have had to regret it as a desideratum.

In England, a charge is a cool business, in Canada, it occasionally rises to peculiar animation.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

London, May 17, 1795.

Dear Sir,

Having hitherto bestowed that degree of approbation on men and measures to which I thought them entitled, I am now to bring forward some transactions of a public nature in which I conceive the interest of the colony of Upper Canada has been misunderstood, and the Lieutenant Governor improperly advised.

The first measure I shall comment on was the plan projected for the manumission of negroes. The reasoning I shall now adopt was that which I delivered in the colony, an opinion which (the nature of the subject considered), did not receive much time in the formation from one unacquainted with public business. Those persons in England, to whose judgments I submitted the case, have only been surprised how the question could ever have been started.

In January, 1793, some gentlemen of the settlement informed me that it was the intention of the Governor to liberate the negroes. As they knew that I had been in the habit of studying the laws and constitution of England, they were desirous of having my opinion on the subject. They said, that, the Governor contended that, by the introduction of the English Constitution, slavery was necessarily done away in the colony, as it could not subsist in England. An opinion of this kind, coming from an authority that could enforce it, you may well suppose, excited both surprise and consternation. Some, it is said, went into the States to dispose of their slaves, others, took indentures of theirs, securing their services for a certain number of years, without being aware that if those slaves were virtually entitled to freedom, these indentures would be considered as having been obtained by improper coercion, or duress of imprisonment, and, as such, declared invalid. A third party talked of contesting the business by law, but dreaded the expense of a suit, the result of which, if even favorable to them in the first instance, might finally go against them in an appeal to the Governor in Council, where they apprehended the question might have been already prejudged. As to an appeal, in the last resort, to England, expense would, in this case, receive additional force, besides three fourths of the little planters and farmers might be ruined, without the property to be contested, amounting in value to that sum (£500) which would entitle them to carry the cause into England.

I believe you are sensible that no man existing execrates a traffic in the human species more than myself, but the question was not now relative to the general rights of humanity but how far the introduction of a new system of laws could affect the rights to property legally acquired, previous to the introduction of that system. This was the state of the question when it was first proposed to me. On the first blush of the business, nothing could appear more plain and simple than the solution, namely that there was nothing incompatible in the coexistence of a constitution, similar to that of England, and slavery in one, and the same place. The proof in reference was easy. It was only pointing to our West Indian islands, where, as much of the constitution of England was extended to Upper Canada. It has ever been acknowledged by every man well acquainted with either law or the Constitution to whom I have spoken, that the *ipso facto* manumission from slavery was a grand peculiar solely attached to the British soil, and not extended to its settlements. Reasoning of this kind would be conclusive here, but these colonists wished to have some arguments drawn more immediately from their own ordinances. I had not far to seek for one that produced instant conviction, and added others drawn from the absurdity that would follow, if such a doctrine was established. In the last section of the very first act of their assembly, it is expressly stated that the validity of any late purchase or contract, made previous to the introduction of English law, shall not be affected by such introduction. Disgraceful, as it is, to human nature, it must be acknowledged, that by late purchase and contract a property in negroes is acquired, and that the words of this section expressly rivet their chains. This was the very argument that was wished for. The colonist could carry the act in his pocket, and show page, line, and word, in defense of his property. The arguments, *ex absurds*, were, to this effect,—that up to the introduction of English law in Upper Canada, property acquired agreeable to the forms of French law, was secured by virtue of the Capitulation of Quebec, universally through all Canada. If the English law, and constitution, by their introduction, *ipso facto*, emancipated the negroes, what was the contrasted state of the inhabitants of the two provinces? The contrasted state was, that, in Lower Canada, all property was inviolably secured to those who were for the most part strangers to our laws, our language, and our religion, and, in general averse from them, and that, in Upper Canada, the inhabitants, who

were attached to the English laws and constitution, found themselves, by their introduction, deprived of a considerable portion of their property. Could it have been the object of the British parliament, to place the inhabitants of Upper Canada, in a worse situation, than those of Lower Canada, by depriving them of part of their property, at the very moment, when the British government took merit to itself, for having obtained, for the colonists of that Province, so valuable an acquisition. Again. Many of the inhabitants of Upper Canada are American Loyalists. Of these, a part had negroes in their possession, when they obtained grants of land in Upper Canada. Others expended part of the indemnification they received from the British government, in the purchase of negroes, well knowing the value of bodily labor in the country, in which they were about to settle. Was it the object of the British parliament to ruin these men by the insidious present of a constitution? It was left to the election of many American Loyalists whether they would have grants of lands in the Bahama islands, or in Upper Canada. Many of these have grown rich in those islands, by means of their negroes. Would any have preferred Upper Canada had they suposed that that preference would deprive them of property in fine, as it was known some time previous to the introduction of the English Constitution, that such an event would take place. If it had been, within the scope of reason, apprehension, common sense or the advice of friends either in England or Canada to look for such a consequence from that introduction, would not the proprietors of negroes have hastened to dispose of that property in Lower Canada, or the States, previous to its taking effect? It is irksome to be called on to establish points that are nearly self-evident, but, in a Province like this, the inhabitants, in general, have too many avocations to be expert at refuting those speculative deductions, and consequences, that may be drawn from the acceptance of a constitution.

When William the Conqueror established his feudal system, the English regarded it at first, as a simple regulation, for general convenience. They were not aware of the consequences, which the Norman lawyers deduced from its reception. Posterity have been unanimous in pronouncing those consequences tyrannically oppressive. In the present instance, the consequences are simply erroneous.

It was soon perceived that this ground was not tenable. Therefore, on the ensuing meeting of the Assembly a bill was introduced, not for the immediate emancipation of the negroes, but declaring

them free, after a certain number of years of servitude. This passed into an Act. Do you suppose that this was a voluntary measure on the part of the Assemblies? Certainly it was not, but, apprehensive as they were that the emancipation would take place in full force, with or without their concurrence, from what they were taught to believe of its necessary connexion with the English constitution, it was considered as a saving measure, to adopt a qualifying plan, which at all events gained time, and, at the worst was preferable to a total loss. What then was the plain translation of the Governor's conduct on this occasion. It was precisely saying, "my good friends, you would not permit me to throw away your whole property, but I insist upon reducing it to half its value. Now I expressly assert that, conformable to his duty as a British ruler, Lieutenant Governor Simcoe had no right, either to alienate the whole property in the first instance, or reduce its value in the second. My reasons are these. The Governor must have known, with what guarded care, and caution, the British parliament had discussed the question, on the Slave trade,—how apprehensive they were of appearing to infringe the rights of private property,—of abridging the means of ameliorating that property. They were sensible also how intimately the security of those rights was connected with the general interests of the Empire. When at length, it was discovered, after abortive trials, during many sessions, that the subject might be treated experimentally with safety, what was the result? Was it that immediate emancipation should take place? Was it that it should take place after a lapse of years? Did it in fine, bear any one trait of resemblance to the plan adopted by Governor Simcoe? The result spoke no such language. It bore no such trait of resemblance. There was not a member, in the British House of Commons, who talked of emanicpation. There was not ten who thought of it, and those ten would not have gained attention had they atempted to influence. The result was, that the slave trade should be given up, but, on the amendment of Mr. Dundas it was determined that this event should be postponed for the term of five years, during which, it was wisely supposed, that the Planters, in the West Indies, might lay in such a stock, as would prevent any inconvenience from being felt, by the sudden stoppage of the trade, injurious to so numerous a body of individuals and, by consequence, prejudicial to the Empire. It was also foreseen, that the great, and only object in view, namely, the better treatment of the Slaves, would

be equally advanced by this suspended measure, as in case of an immediate abandonment, because it would instantly be perceived by the Planters that native population would henceforth be their single resource, which would only be kept up by kind usage, and attention to the situation of their slaves. The bill, they amended, passed the Commons, but the question was deemed of so great magnitude, by the Peers, that, from delays, occasioned by examination of witnesses, it was lost by a prorogation.

I am thus minute on this head, in order to give, to the contrasts I draw, the most impressive effect. I contrast a stoppage of trade, to take place *in futuro,* on one part, with alienation of property on the other. I contrast the slow deliberative wisdom of the British parliament, with the too prompt decision of a magistrate, scarcely seated in his government. I do not wish to give expression to inferences. They will be felt. Will any man, at all acquainted with the nature of public business pretend to say, that, in the relative situation of this Governor, it was not his bounden duty, to have awaited the decision of the British parliament on the subject, and to have rendered that decision the guide of his conduct. Is property only dear to the inhabitants of the West India islands, or does the poverty of the colonists of Upper Canada invite an exertion of influence, that would elsewhere be constitutionally resisted? If the Assemblies of Upper Canada, with Lieutenant Governor Simcoe at their head, can decide on such a question, why do not other Governors bring it forward in their Colonial Assemblies? Does the Governor of Upper Canada alone feel for the unhappy African? I certainly am of opinion, that there are other men, of equal feeling, in authority. Possibly they think it improper to publish their humanity in an Act of Assembly, when it is to be exercised at the expense of others, their good sense at the same time suggesting that such a question was too great for the decision of an inferior dependence. If, it is said, that this act may be repealed, certainly it may, but is it not injurious to the colony to have brought forward a business which must create heart burnings, however it is determined? Say, was the present the moment to agitate the feelings of the unhappy negroes by presenting them with a prospect of freedom, which they may never approach? The number of negroes in Upper Canada do not render them an object of apprehension, but are their hopes and fears on that account to be sported with? If this business, independent of the loss of the pro-

prietors, holds out nothing of a serious consequence in Upper Canada, is it likely that it will be inconsequential with respect to our West India possessions? When the report of this measure has been disseminated through the Islands, it will render the negroes dissatisfied with the intended regulations of the British parliament, which, when carried into effect will secure them better treatment, and content will subside. They will examine the question anew. They will probably say, "what do they talk to us about the good intentions of the parliament of England,—they be the good friends of the negroes in Africa,—they prevent them from coming here, but what is that to us, we still be slaves? No that Massa Simcoe in Canada he be the blackman's friend. He set the negro free." Certain it is that most things derive their value from comparison. That what would be deemed a positive benefit, may be considered as an act of injustice, if that which is of greater value, be, at the same time injudiciously conferred on equal desert. A measure which may naturally be supposed to affect the negroes of the West Indies in the manner I have described, must, at any time, be deemed imprudent. In the present state of things, in those countries, when so much depends on the minds of these people being well conciliated to Government, it becomes seriously alarming.

In vain is it that I have endeavored to trace out what cause may have given rise to so anomalous a display of the temporary powers of a governor. The judgment which guided his conduct in many other particulars is certainly not discoverable in this. In the number of reports in circulation that which obtained most credit was a motive, which I unwillingly bring forward. It was said that the Governor not being on terms the most amicable with one of the members for Liverpool, from a professional variance, the same discontent accompanied them into the House of Commons, in which assembly General Simcoe was a member for St. Ives, Cornwall,—that the member for Liverpool, supporting the interest of that town on the question of the slave trade, was opposed, though unsuccessfully, by the member for St. Ives, who, soon after being appointed to the government of Upper Canada, was determined to obtain a partial victory, manifest the controversy in his province, by the emancipation of the negroes. Such was the report. Weighty consequences are often derived from trivial cause, but no this cannot be. The classical Governor of Upper Can-

ada could not lay a foundation on which to erect an arch in memory of the triumph of pique, over judgment.

The next public measure, I bring forward for comment, is the admission of goods, duty free, from the States of America in May, 1793, I consider this concession as injurious to the British Empire.

The principal advantage of a colony to every Commercial country must be that it accords a vent for the commodities of the present State. England has never been peculiarly jealous on this head.

In the month of May, 1793, a large boat, belonging to an American Captain, I think his name was Welton, arrived from the States of America. Having sailed up the Mohawk river into the Lake Ontario, he landed his goods on the Newark side of Niagara, under cover of a tent pitched on the beach. The goods were exposed to sale, and the Captain, being enabled to dispose of them at prices inferior to the current ones at Niagara, purchasers crowded from all parts. The merchants of Niagara, alarmed at the circumstance, inquired why the goods had not been seized, on being exposed to sale, but they inquired in vain. No answer could be obtained. Boats arriving with emigrants from the States were allowed to import a certain quantity of goods, not as articles for sale, but under the head of necessaries. That a merchant, importing goods duty free, should sell them cheaper than merchants who paid legal duties, is matter of no surprise, but this was not the only point of advantage. If an English and an American vessel were to start together, from any port in England, freighted with the same merchandise, purchased at the same price, the one for Quebec, the other for New York, goods of the latter could be offered at the Niagara market, subjected to the payment of equal duties, at a price inferior to those of the former. To prove this,—it is in the first place to be considered that American vessels carry goods for less freight, than English ones, to equal distances. This disadvantage is increased in the present instance, by its requiring one-third more time, on an average, to perform a voyage to Quebec, than to New York. I will then suppose these goods destined for the Niagara river. They are conveyed along the Mohawk river, which joins the Hudson, and arrive after a passage of about 16 days. The goods, landed at Quebec, destined for the Niagara market, must be reloaded, and again, after a passage, probably of 4 days landed again at Montreal. Hence they must be carried 9 miles in carts to Lachine,

at a considerable expense. Here they are loaded in the batteaux for Cataraqui, a distance of about 170 or 180 miles, in which interval, there are some carrying places, when the goods must be unloaded, conveyed a certain distance by land, reloaded. Arrived at Cataraqui, they are there shipped in vessels, navigating the lake Ontario, in which they are finally transported to Niagara. A slight comparison will shew under what different degrees of difficulty, the goods arrive at market, from Quebec, and New York. A stranger, arriving at Niagara, will be struck with surprise at the prices which many articles are rated at. He is, at first, induced to consider it as the result of imposition. He compares those prices with those of London, or even of Quebec, and they appear high compared with either. He becomes acquainted with the nature of the country, the difficulties and loss under which their market is supplied, and the extraordinary ceases to appear extraordinary. You have already observed, from this reasoning that goods must arrive at Quebec, dearer than at New York, but this difference weighs lightly in the scale, when compared with that under which the respective inland navigations afterwards labor. It is at Montreal that this superior difficulty commences on the side of the British merchant. The difficulties in the different loadings and unloadngs I have already enumerated, but the loss is that which compels the Upper Country merchant to impose an extraordinary price, as Upper Canada is entirely dependent on England for every article of manufacture. Those of a brittle and perishable nature are liable to continued loss and damage in their conveyance by land and water, during a carriage of 180 miles, from bad roads, change from one mode of transport to the other, and the taking in water. It is needless to remark to the commercial man that all these losses must be made good by the consumer so that, in fact, the excess of the price of goods at Cataraqui or Niagara, beyond the price at Quebec or Montreal is rather to be considered as so much additional principal inevitably expended, than as an exorbitant profit wantonly imposed. These losses and damages are for the most part made good by raising the price of the smaller, and less expensive articles rather than those of higher value. It is principally to be observed in the purchase of knives, buttons, etc., and much less so in that of clothes, and other valuable commodities. I have pursued this explanation for the purpose of showing under what different circumstances, the British and American merchants came to the Niagara market.

I have already observed that the Niagara merchants were startled at this unexpected intrusion. They determined to purchase the remaining part of the American cargo, at his own prices. The competition thus quashed for the present, it became necessary to take immediate steps to ascertain on what ground they stood. It was not doubted, but the report of this quick sale would bring in more American traders, and it was equally certain in that case, for them to transmit any more orders to Montreal or England, for home commodities must eventually be ruinous to them. At a meeting of merchants, it was determined to take the opinion of the only lawyer in the country, namely, the Attorney General. Queries were transmitted to him how far he deemed it legal that the goods of an alien nation should be imported, free of duty, for sale. I did not see his answer, but was informed that the tenor of it was, that the Governor held a dispensing power that authorized it. The question now narrows itself considerably. With what I have premised, full in recollection, there will, I think be little difficuty in deciding this issuable point. Was this dispensng power exercised with discretion? I am here giving full credit to the existence of this power, though previously unknown, nor wish to start any difficulty on that head. I will suppose it in existence. I will suppose it legal. With respect to dispensing powers, (if I form a right judgment), they are ever to be used with the utmost precaution. If, in a period of extreme dearth, a Governor were to open the ports of his Province to the importation of flour, or other articles of extreme necessity, even contrary to law, such a measure would carry along its own acquittal. Such measures have, I believe, been occasionally adopted in the West Indies and yet prudent ministers in England, when they themselves have thus strained authority, though for the public good, have thought it judicious to take shelter, under an act of indemnity. If reasons thus forcible, can be adduced, against establishing a competition, between an alien and a British merchant in the Niagara market, in a case which supposes the imported merchandize, in both cases, to be English manufactures how much will the argument be strengthened, when I mention, that much the greater, and most valauble part of the American cargo alluded to, consisted of East India goods, in which the Americans have an original trade, and which, in consequence of the low state of taxation in their states they must of necessity be enabled to transmit to Upper Canada, with every advantage over the British

trader. Is it to establish such a competition, and in favor of such a traffic, that a dispensing power ought to have been exerted? Had a measure of this kind been adopted, in order to break the spirit of grinding monopoly, I would have been the first to applaud it ,but it must be obvious to you from what I have stated, that the necessity of imposing those extraordinary prices, arises from the nature of the inland navigation, and that those prices are injurious to the merchant by preventing that more liberal consumption which would otherwise take place, and which would enable them to convert a part of that excess, which they must now expend, as a dead principal, into a moderate live profit. I have already shewn that the extraordinary prices is to be considered as indemnification and not gain. It is seldom that any public measure passes without comment, or, indeed let its complexion be what it may, without some species of defence. The defence, which was made on this occasion by one connected with the administration of the country, is peculiar in its kind. It was said, that the Governor had been intimate with the Captain of the boat, and received services from him in the course of the American war. An injudicious friend is the worst enemy. The wisdom of nations, as expressed in aphorisms, and maxims, bears testimony to this truth. "This man," says an American sage, speaking of such a friend, "this man has in the warmth of his zeal to serve me done that which the greatest of my enemies in the excess of his enmity could not have devised." The apologist, on this occasion, did not seem to be aware that good offices done to the colonel of a corps were not to be recompensed at the expense of the mercantile interests of Great Britain. It is evident that the good offices alluded to must have been considered as of a public nature. Insanity itself could not have suggested that private obligations were to be thus repaid. It is equally clear that if those public services were rendered, the Captain ought to have looked for remuneration to another quarter. From what I have mentioned, at length, of the different terms on which the American and English merchant came to the Niagara market it must be obvious to you that I lay little stress on the defence of the apologist. I, at the same time assure you that it was the only one I heard brought forward. A prudent friend would have relied on the high price of commodities being the cause of the adoption of this measure. The only question would then have been, was it the general interest of the Empire that aliens should come to the market of Upper Can-

ada, on terms of advantage that must obtain a decided preference. If the defence was whispered on one side complaints assumed a somewhat higher tone on the other. It was said that remonstrances to the British government would be made by the wholesale merchants of Montreal, who were, in most instances, the importers from England. The defence, however, appeared well calculated to counteract any step of this kind implying that it was a concession in favor of the individual, and not a regulation, that was to assume the permanent form of a system,—the single exertion was of little moment,—it was only formidable when regarded in the light of a precedent.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

London, May 28, 1795.

Dear Sir,

The celebrated cataract of Niagara is justly ranked among the natural wonders of the world. It is distant about 18 miles from the town of Niagara, and is about half way from that place to the entrance on lake Erie. In that country it is emphatically distinguished by the name of The Falls. As you proceed from Niagara, you do not discover them till you approach near. The noise of the descending waters is, however, to be heard at some distance, and their situation perceived at a considerable one, as there is always a cloud impending perpendicularly over them, formed from the mist of the spray, and which is distinguishable, even from that part of lake Ontario, which is adjacent to Niagara. The French missionaries and others, who first published accounts of this cataract, brought forward such as were highly erroneous. They, I believe, mistook feet for yards in estimation of its height? With every degree of diminished expectation, however, which the most philosophic indifference could assume, it will never be beheld, for the first time, without the most awful surprise. Its height is usually estimated at a rude calculation to be 150 feet. More accurate mensuration, they say, reduces it to 144. I believe it will not be necessary for me to remark to you, that you must take both these calculations on the credit of those who made them. Foot rules, compasses, and quadrants of altitude are instru-

ments, to the use of which, Heaven knows I envy not those who are curious in the application of them.

The cataract is divided into *two islands,* on either side of which the waters precipitate themselves over table rocks. Where they fall, may be considered as the commencement of the river Niagara, which however is only navigable to and from The Landing. The body of waters, which falls on the Newark side of the islands, is greater than that which descends on the side of Fort Slautzer, which is opposite. The figure of the rocks on the former side, bears a strong resemblance to the section of an ellipse, cut off transversely, near to the upper cone. In the latter, it is rectilinear. It is difficult to conceive the impetuosity with which waters, which have beng pursuing their course from remote lakes, for several hundred miles, must at a sudden narrow, where they are unusually compressed, precipitate themselves into an abyss of 144 feet in depth, to the level of the river. The force with which they arrive here is so great, that they curve in such a manner, as to leave an intervening space between them, and the rocks, in which persons beneath may walk dry, and with safety. The next time I saw this cataract, I proposed to a cottager in the neighborhood, to accompany me in the descent, in order to guide me to this place, but he declined. The blended attack, on various senses, in such a promenade, must have been peculiarly grand. It was then the winter season. When I afterwards visited it, at the commencement of summer, I had no inclination to make the experiment as, in the interim, I had been informed that, in summer, rattlesnakes are frequently met in the path which you must descend. It argues some degree of sagacity in those reptiles to select a situation for basking, in which it is not likely that they will be often disturbed.

Pieces of petrified spray are found at the bottom of the Falls, which strangers preserve as curiosities. They are white in color, and porous, and of light weight.

When a stranger first approaches the edge of the neighboring bank, in order to view the cataract, and the abyss, he generally catches, as it were, though in perfect safety, at some twig or shrub for security. Even the ground he treads on, appears to have acquired somewhat of a tremulous motion. The view of the waters, continuing their course after the descent, in a sheet of foam, here and there broken by impediments, is one of the most picturesque can

be conceived. If the nymph Lodona, when pursued by the god Pan, as Mr. Pope describes, had happened to arrive here, and plunged into this stream, which as a water nymph she could have done with safety, I'll answer for it that Pan would never have thought of following her. I would recommend to any stranger, whose leisure will only permit him to pay one visit to this place, rather to view the cataract from the side of Fort Slautzer, than that of Newark, as he may from thence see the greater fall to most advantage. The waters run in a strong rapid for some distance, before their arrival at the Table rock, but shallow. When a tree, occasionally, gets within the vortex of this current, it is either snapped in two, or sent up in shreds according as it presents itself end foremost, or in a transverse direction on its arrival at the Fall.

Many are the accidents that are reported to have happened here. The most singular is that of an Indian, who paddling in his canoe, got engulphed in the rapid. His efforts, to gain the neighboring bank, were in vain. Finding exertion ineffectual, and that he was hurrying precipitately to the fall, he was seen to take up a bottle of rum, from the bottom of the canoe, and empty its contents,—then very composedly laying himself down at length, and descending the cataract, was never heard of more. Stories, similar to this, are told of other falls, besides that of Niagara, nor are they, on that account, to be rejected as fabulous. Many of them may be true. In America, where cataracts are not uncommon, people, much of whose support depends on fishing, must, in the course of years, have often encountered similar dangers. Intemperance, in the use of rum, probably abated their vigilance, and it was natural in an Indian, when he saw his fate inevitable to make his favorite liquor the means of producing insensibility to the terrors of it.

Mr. Birch, a gentleman who lives near the cataract, has been so much affected by the noise of it, as to be nearly deprived of hearing. An occasional visit to it is highly gratifying, but it must prove a most troublesome neighbor.

At Mr. Birch's, I first saw that very useful piece of machinery, a saw mill worked by water. In such a country, the advantage of a machine, which saves so much bodily labor, is inestimable. They are common in the States of America.

Mr. Birch's mill has not more, if I recollect, than two or three saws, but, in the States, I have been informed, that they are, in some

erections, extended to the number of 14. I cannot describe to you the satisfavction I have experienced in viewing its effects. To behold the facility with which it furnishes man with the means of fencing himself in from the beast of the desert, and the inclemency of the elements, gives rise to the most grateful sensations. The same train of thought associates with this, his progress in laws, religion, and cultivated society. Nothing of the nature of timber can resist the force of this instrument. The hardest knot gives way with the same ease, as that the grain of which is the most simple. The most gnarled oak could not hold out the impediment of a second of time.

You may suppose that in a country like this, where the houses are almost all of wood, that there can be no want of employment for these mills. The continual demand for articles of furniture, by new settlers, and others, renders the employment of carpenters, considered as a mechanical one, very beneficial.

It has often been disputed whether machines, for expediting labor, are, on the whole useful or not. Such questions may be started in old countries, but they are soon decided, if America is taken into the scale of consideration. In the old countries, there is generally an excess of population, for which employment cannot be obtained. If such machines were generally encouraged, this evil might be increased to an alarming extent so as to deprive numbers of the means of obtaining subsistence. It certainly is to be preferred, that manufactures should be purchased at a dearer rate, and even a less degree of perfection, when, in that state, they afford bread to thousands rather than by having them somewhat cheaper and more refined reduce those thousands to hundreds.

The true distinction appears to be between manufactures, which may be considered as staples, or of extensive foreign sale, and those which are more confined to the home market. In the former instance, as in the case of broad cloths and cottons, every abridgment of labor and expense which may enable us, by selling cheap to secure a preference in foreign markets, ought to be encouraged. In the latter, in many cases, it should be otherwise. In England, the erection of saw mills would render much useful industry inactive. In America, the same cause leaves an additional portion of industry free for the most requisite purposes, for felling of timber, agriculture, and the rude manufactures.

Of the places beyond the Cataract, I must write from report. Eighteen miles from thence, you arrive at the entrance of lake Erie, which is navigable, by large vessels, in like manner, as the lake Ontario. The goods, which supply Detroit, which is situated at the distant extremity of it, must pass this sea.

Detroit is said to be distant upwards of 300 miles from Niagara. The climate, in its neighborhood, has many advantages over the parts of Canada I have described, from its greater mildness. Fruits are peculiarly abundant. This settlement is almost entirely inhabited by persons of French extraction, is in point of regularity of buildings, superior to the neighboring one of Niagara, for in this country two or three hundred miles, where there is a water communication, is considered as no great interruption of neighborhood. I was informed, upon good authority that there are 2 or 3 hosues at Detroit, which have brass knockers to their doors. If this be so, I am apprehensive that the seat of Government (Niagara), must acknowledge the progress of its neighbor towards refinement, be greater than its own. Minute, as a circumstance of this kind may appear, that mind must have a small bias reflection, that would not deduce consequence from it. It might not be a just consequence to infer that such a town was more opulent than one not furnished in the same manner, but a stranger, who would, from thence, conclude that society was more improved, and conversation on a better footing, would bid fair to be right.

There is always a military body stationed at Detroit. The 24th regiment, under the command of Colonel England, was on duty in 1793.

The next regular settlement in Upper Canada is that of Michilamachinac. It is 300 miles distant from Detroit. This also is a military post. Its principal claim to mention is that it is the last place of any note in the province.

In the month of February, 1793, Governor Simcoe made a progress from Niagara to Detroit, attended by part of his suite. Some of the gentlemen of the settlement attended him, in sleighs, as far as the Grand River, where there is an Indian settlement. It is distant, about 70 miles, from Niagara. Here he became the guest of Captain Brandt, the principal of the Indian chiefs. Hence they continued their course through the woods on foot, a party of savages, detached by this chief, serving as guides. I never could hear what

was the precise object of this expedition, but suppose it to have been the formation of some colonial arrangements in that quarter, which required the Governor's presence, and which it was foreseen that the pressure of public business, the ensuing summer, would not then permit to be personally attended to.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

LONDON, June 3rd, 1795.

Dear Sir,

Almost all business is transacted at Cataraqui, Niagara, and Detroit, though the medium of paper money. This money consists of small squares of paper or card, on which are printed promissory notes for various sums. These notes are made payable once a year, generally about the latter end of September at Montreal. The name of the merchant or firm is subscribed. These notes are seldom struck off for a greater value than £5, York currency, and thence downwards for all the intermediate integral sums of six pence York, inclusive. The use made of paper money in Upper Canada appears to be a matter of necessity from the want of a sufficient quantity of circulating specie, a want to which most new establishments are liable. It, at the same time, contributes to give vigor to the activity of industry, by enabling men of good character, and small means to trade on more extensive capitals. To prevent, however, the danger which might result from too general an adoption of this plan, no paper money will be received, but such as the merchants agree to take in payment for goods, in which they are necessarily determined by the credit and responsibility of the issuer.

One peculiar advantage arises to the merchants, from the use of this medium, which is, that a large quantity of it wears out, and is lost, and not being presented for payment, the amount is clear gain. An Indian, also, in pursuit of his game would make little difficulty of wadding his fowling piece, if no other materials were at hand, with these notes. From all these causes no inconsiderable annual profit results. The use of this kind of money tends also to encourage a more extensive consumption of commodities. Many persons will

part freely with paper money for the purchase of articles which are not necessaries, who, if the payment were to have been made in hard cash, would have declined the expense.

The specie which circulates, consists of half-joes, some guineas, dollars, quarter dollars, English shillings. As to copper money, it is seldom seen.

A half-joe is a Spanish golden coin. Its value, when undiminished is about 40 shillings. In this country, however, it only passes according to its weight, which is generally marked on it. The value of a guinea is the same as in England. A dollar passes for five shiliings York, and a quarter dollar, for 15d sterling, or two shillings York. Accounts are kept agreeable to the New York currency, one York pound is equal to twelve shillings and six pence sterling.

The new village of Newark at Niagara, increased in size, during the time I continued in the country. Its being the residence of the Governor was the probable cause of this improvement. As wooden houses are easily constructed, any accidental cause of this kind, secures to the particular district, a preference for the purposes of culture. There is every probability that Newark will continue to rise into notice, even if that advantage ceased, as some persons of property intended to settle in the villgae and its vicinity. At the head of these may be placed Colonel Smith of the 5th regiment, and his family. If a few persons of equal respectability were to form permanent establishments, Upper Canada would soon assume a new appearance. The influence of example would determine many, who are, at present, undecided. The property which now yields a scanty interest, which is expended idly as an annexed income, would then be laid out in improvements, useful to the country, and the descendants of the proprietor. Persons of education, and a certain rank in life are principally deterred from such pusuits by the apprehension of wanting suitable society. A few examples such as I have mentioned would do away this objection. At the same time it must be acknowledged, that such establishments are most suitable for military men, who are previously acquainted with the country,—who are seasoned to its usages, and reconciled to its habits, and intimately acquainted with the general interests. Such men can immediately turn everything to account, without the aid of expensive experience, and if certain local difficulties in navigation are surmounted, their children will perceive

that their fathers have, after years well spent in the service of their country exchanged an iron sword for a golden plough-share.

In the summer of 1793, certain commissioners from the States of America arrived at Newark, with the view of accommodating the difference of their nation with the Indians, under the mediation of Governor Simcoe. They consisted of General Lincoln, Messrs. Randolph and Pickering. After some time, they proceeded to the Miamis village in the Western Country, as the scene of negociation. It was expected that everything would have been there arranged. However to the great surprise of the country, all parties returned to Newark. It was said that the American commissioners, on being interrogated by the Indian chiefs, whether they were vested with plenipotentiary powers, and replying in the negative, became objects of distrust to the Indians. They suspected that peace was not their object. In consequence of this, they refused to enter on business, unless in the immediate presence of Governor Simcoe, the representative of the great King. It was generally believed that this proposition was far from being disagreeable to the Commissioners, as in the irritated state of mind of the savages, they could not altogether divest themselves of the apprehension of personal danger against which the presence and influence of the Governor was a certain security.

On their return, three councils were held, at which the Governor presided as mediator. These assemblies convened in Freemason's Hall in the beginning of July. Attention was paid to every circumstance that could render them solemn and impressive. A detachment of troops lined the avenue of approach to the Hall, through which the Governor, attended by the principal officers of administration, and his suite, passed to Council. Here he presided, seated at the head of the room with his retinue on one hand, and the American Commissioners on the other. At some distance from these, wooden forms had been placed, parallel to each other, on which the Indian deputies were seated. I cannot be accurate as to their number but there seemed to be about fifty. In the rear, and on the sides of these, such of the inhabitants, as curiosity attracted, had taken their station. In the midst, was placed a table on which were deposited strings and belts of wampum, articles which the Indian ceremonies render indispensible on such occasions. Near this stood the interpreter. Everything proceeded with much order and deliberation.

I did not oberve any of the animated gesture or articulation, which some historians have represented, as so essential a part of Indian oratory. Kayne and others appear to me not to have been sufficiently accurate in their inquiries. That figurative language, which is so frequently attributed to them, is no doubt, much indebted for its point and polish to the pen of the European. The latter wished to surprise, surprising indeed it would be, if the fancy of the savage, chilled with penury, could present effusions worthy of absolute euloguim. It is among the difficult tasks of a mature judgment, improved by education, to bring forth a continued allegory, just in all its parts. Abortive effervescences of fancy, no doubt occasionally arise in the Savage mind, but a knowledge of rhetoric alone can mould the antithesis. The savage may declare his inclination for peace by talking of "burying the hatchet." He may menace hostilities, on the contrary by expressing his design of "digging up the hatchet." Such figurative expressions are within the attainment of the savage conception. They are obvious, and terminate in a single idea. Beyond these, and such like reports of the allusive oratory of the Indians should be received with caution.

When I mentioned that Indian eloquence did not rise in these councils to the degree of animation books would have taught me to expect, it is by no means conclusive that such is the uniform temper, with which the sentiments are delivered. In conferences with those who understand their language where no medium of communication is requisite, strong sensibility may be displayed, but where an interpreter of necessity intervenes, oratory, of course, assumes a lower tone, sensible as the orator must be that matter only, and not the fire of elocution will be transmitted. Possibly also the prudence of the Governor had caused it to be previously intimated to the Chiefs, that when he sat as mediator, respect to him required a guarded circumspection.

The Indians have many ceremonies which are to be attended to in the course of these assemblies. When they wish, from any cause, to adjourn they say that it is "time to cover up the Council fire."

Nothing decisive resulted from these councils. The prospect of peace, between the contending parties, remained equally distant as before. When I visited the States a few months after, many of the Americans, with whom I conversed, attributed the non-adjustment of differences to Governor Simcoe, who, they seemed to think, had, underhand, fomented the dissension. This opinion I sedulously opposed

from a persuasion that it was unfounded, and that should it become prevalent, it might, in the then critical situation of affairs, give an undue ascendency to those who favored the French interest, and wished to promote a rupture with England. Indeed, so unreasonable was this surmise, that I can assure you with sincerity, I never heard such an opinian once started at Niagara. From the numbers who were at that time present, such a rumor, had there been any basis for it, would not have wanted circulation. Whatever bias to the Indian interest the English have since manifested, has every appearance of originating subsequent to that period.

The novelty of an Indian Council is a circumstance that renders it as a sight interesting to a stranger. The dress and appearance of the deputies were peculiarly fantastic. Their faces, in general, were rubbed over with some stuff that in colour bore a resemblance to birck dust, and with this they were *rouged*, more or less according to fancy. Feathers ornamented their heads. Their vests were of various materials, and indeed so singularly decorated as to baffle description. Many of them had circles of tin, or plated metal on their arms. Their effect was rather pleasing. In general, the lower parts of the body were dressed, in what are called in that country *ligons*, or overalls of cloth, which cover both the legs and thighs.

Captain Brandt, who was at the head of this deputation, is the principal of the Indian chiefs. I have met him at different times in private companies, and found him shrewd, sensible, and intelligent. He speaks English well, and with fluency. His opportunities, in life, however, have been so peculiar, as to give him considerable advantages over his countrymen. Among them, the one most to be noted, is his having in the early part of his life, been educated for some time in an American college. During the American war, this chief was much countenanced by men of rank in the British army. They invited him to England. During his residence here he was presented to his Majesty, and honorably noticed. He returned to Canada after receiving presents from his great friends. Such distinguished favor obtained him a marked pre-eminence among his country-men, and confirmed it. He appears to dwell with pleasure on his reception in England, and will, occasionally, repeat parts of conversations he had held with some of our most illustrious characters. His deportment, at table is perfectly that of a gentleman, and I have seen many instances, where his manners and address, from their correctness

and suavity, were entitled to peculiar regard. It appears to me to be unfair to object to him a few excesses into which he was on the point of entering, when inebriated with wine. Those who expect that human nature can be thus easily changed, ought themselves to be models of perfection. The true point of prudence in my opinion would have substituted other convivial pleasures, before the seat of reason was disturbed by intemperance.

Captain Brandt is a man of the middle size, and appears, in age, to be bordering on fifty, but hale, vigorous and active. His countenance is far from prepossessing. It may, however, be a trait in high repute among his tribe, that it is calculated to strike terror into his enemies.

I once slept in the same room with him, at the house of a gentleman at The Landing. It was on his return from the Miamis, previous to holding the councils at Niagara. We had much conversation in the early part of the night, which confirmed the opinion I had previously entertained, of the strength of his mind, and the culture of his understanding.

Captain Brandt had a sister at Cataraqui, who was known by the name of Miss Molly. Sir William Johnson left some children by this squaw, with whom he cohabited for many years. They are, I believe with the exception of one son, all daughters. Sir William bequeathed handsome fortunes to the whole family. The Miss Johnsons are married respectably in the country. It is with regret, I have heard, since my return to England, of the death of the eldest, Mrs. Kerr, the lady of doctor Kerr, for many minute attentions, which, in colonial life, are highly valuable to the passing, or unsettled stranger, I have now to lament that, from this event, I must ever remain indebted.

In the winter season, nothing is more ardently wished for, by young persons of both sexes, in Upper Canada, than the setting in of the frost, accompanied by a fall of snow. Then it is, that pleasure commences her reign. The sleighs are drawn out. Visits are paid, and returned, in all directions. Neither cold, distance, or badness of roads prove any impediment. The sleighs glide over all obstacles. It would excite surprise in a stranger to view the open before the Governor's House on a levée morning, filled with these carriages. A sleigh would not probably make any great figure in Bond street, whose silken sons and daughters would probably mistake it for a turnip

cart, but in the Canadas, it is the means of pleasure, and glowing healthful exercise. An overturn is nothing. It contributes subject matter for conversation at the next house that is visited, when a pleasant raillery often arises on the derangement of dress, which the ladies have sustained, and the more than usual display of graces, which the tumble has occasioned.

The sleigh, I believe, is a carriage in general use, in most of the northern parts of Europe, where the winters are long and severe.

The winter of 1792-93 was considered as unusually mild in Canada. The Indians said that they remembered but few that had been so mild. We had, however, some nipping days. What a proper specimen of a Canadian winter may be, I know not, but of this I can assure you that notwithstanding, I never permitted my fire to be out day or night. I have found things, in the room, which got wet by accident, frozen in the morning.

The persons of greatest weight, in the Canadas, are the merchants, or storekeepers. Among these, the gentlemen from Scotland take a decided lead. I have been informed that they have the same ascendency in the West Indies. They are sent out at any early period of life from Scotland, and, by the time they arrive at manhood, are perfectly conversant in a knowledge of the country. If superior industry and activity are grounds of pretension to affluence, I know no men whose claims are equal to those of the Scotch. Some comparative experience authorizes me to say this much. Many of them distinguished themselves by a frank hospitality, in accepting which you did not find conversation the least desirable part of the entertainment. Its ingredients were strong, natural, good sense, seasoned with some literary resource.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

(No date).

Dear Sir,

I left Niagara in the close of July, 1793. The weather was then, as it had been through the summer, intensely hot.

The great number of midges which abound, at this season, prove a very serious grievance. It is scarcely possible to exclude them even from your bed. On rising in a morning, I have frequently found my

legs covered with great bumps from the sting of these insects. They are particularly troublesome in the woods, and where there is underwood near standing water.

Nothing particular occurred in repassing the Lake Ontario to Cataraqui, where we arrived, after a passage of 40 hours in the Sophia gunboat. The same evening, accompanied by a gentleman from Niagara, and two others from Detroit, I embarked in a batteau for Montreal. Nothing can be conceived more picturesque than the views which occur on this passage. All that ever novel or romance have described is here realized. The eye, at length, grows sated with prospect. The wish strongly recurs of arriving at the place of destination. However, nature in her most wanton mood may vary the form of wood and water, it is society, and good society alone, which can afford permanent pleasure.

Having already written relative to this navigation, I have little to add. The rapid, called the Long Sault, is, next to the Cascades which I have already described, that which is best worth attention. It is a narrow pass, where the waters are suddenly contracted, and issue through with most extraordinary noise and violence, boiling up, and agitated the waves appear ready to break in on every part of the batteau. The rapidity of the motion is inconceivable. When we were on the point of entering this rapid, a passenger, from Detroit, seized with a sudden apprehension, sprung up in the batteau, offering a reward to the men to put him ashore, at the same time destroying the trim of the boat by putting his foot on the gunwale. A general outcry ensued, accompanied with menaces, calling on this man to sit down. In our situation, such a step might have cost us our lives. It must be an intrepid heart that could pass through this strait, for the first time, without some degree of terror, particularly if there is anything like a pointed antipathy to that mode of death, called drowning in the case.

The batteau men were French Canadians returning from Detroit to Montreal. They had been absent, at the former place for some years, and though accustomed to the navigation of this water, had, from absence, forgotten it. In the course of the following night, our escape was, indeed, most providential. Arriving at that part of the river where 90 men, in batteaux, under the command of Lord Amherst were lost, the war before last, the current was carrying us with velocity to the entrance of a rapid. We were all extended on

mattrasses, covered up with blankets for the night, when fortunately Mr. McKay, the Niagara merchant, happening to raise himself in the batteau, thought, on looking round, that the pilot was taking a wrong direction. On arrival at this part an island intervenes, on either side of which the waters pass and join again at the further extremity. On the left hand, the passage can be made with safety, but, on the right, it is obstructed with so many rocks, that destruction would be inevitable. When Mr. McKay remonstrated with the pilot, he was guiding us straight into the latter. He insisted that he knew the way, and was certain of being in the proper track. Mr. McKay was, every instant, more confirmed in his opinion, and the pilot, with that petulent obstinacy which is so peculiar to the lower class of the French, was equally tenacious of his. Roused by the dispute, the other passengers got up, and relying on Mr. McKay's judgment, insisted on the pilot's obeying his (Mr. McK's) instructions. After pulling hard against the current, we gained a bank, and fastening the batteau securely to a tree, we reposed till morn. The first light of day presented us with a prospect that convinced us of the danger we had escaped, the Frenchman of his obstinacy, and all in general how much we were indebted to the knowledge and resolution of Mr. McKay.

We arrived the same day in safety at Montreal.

Nothing particular had occurred, since my leaving this the November before, except the arrival of the spring fleet from England which was detained longer than usual from the necessity of waiting for convoy.

Those who wish to return immediately to Europe generally sail from this place or Quebec. Those who intend, for the United States of America, pass the river from Montreal to Laprairie, which is here a few miles over.

From Laprairie, it is necessary to proceed by land to St. Johns, where boats may be hired to cross Lake Champlain, at the extremity of which is Skeensboro.

After leaving St. Johns there is a British post at the Isle-aux-Noix, where there is a small party of our men. Proceeding onward to the lake, boats are, at some distance from thence, brought to by a British armed vessel, in order to examine their cargos and destination. The line of demarcation between the British and American

possessions is drawn at this place. Proceeding forward, the traveller is to consider himself as being within the boundaries of the State of Vermont.

The man, who leaves the seat of the British Empire to settle in a province or appendage to which its constitution is extended, will be disappointed, if he looks for the same security of rights, or freedom from oppression, as in the Mother Country. This probably is a defect inherent in the nature of things, but a defect it certainly is and this defect becomes aggravated in proportion to the smallness of the society, the want of affluence in the inhabitants, and the distance from the Mother country. Where there is a small number of inhabitants there is the greatest inducement to overstrain authority, and the least ability to resist it. It is in union only that men feel their strength, and the most constitutional union may be overborne, when it is very limited, and therefore feeble. Want of affluence in like manner renders the best laws frequently useless. It is to be regretted that those who are poor are often obliged in civil cases to relinquish the best founded right from inability to assert them, and distance from home will often be found a strong shield of defence, to those who have abused authority.

Independent of these causes, there is another to be assigned, namely the difficulty of meeting with juries that can come perfectly indifferent to the judgment seat. The members, who compose a jury may be men of strict integrity, but, in very limited societies, it is next to impossible that they should not have some bias on their minds, even unknown to themselves, and, in many instances, that they should not have formed prejudgments on the merits of a cause.

Men of sense acquainted with the world, will not expect to find, in a new colony, the same regularlity in the administration of justice as at home. He will allow that many rights must remain vague, and indefinite for a period, and that time must be given, before things can mould themselves into form. He will not look for the learning of an English judge in a Canadian one, but he will not dispense with the want of his integrity. He will not require him to know the depths of special pleading but he will rigidly exact candid impartiality in a charge to a jury. It is not to be expected that no influence will be sought after, but that which results from the ascendency of political virtue, but it might be expected that the dignity of a judge would not be degraded by descending to check the cur-

rent of private opinion, on the merits of a judicial case, by personal reproof. It might be expected in Canada, as in England, that, in judicial cases, a judge should have neither eye, ear, nor voice beyond the limits of his courts. Finally, it might be expected that where laws were so plain and simple that he who runs might read,—they should not be twisted into perplexity.

The Canadas are not countries of whose cabinets or muses you can expect to hear. Attached as we both are to the charms of painting and sculpture, I cannot give, nor you receive, accounts of things which are not in existence. Man, himself, is here but roughly hewn from the block, and it will be a long period before this country can produce excellence in arts, which are only of modern cultivation at home.

The Canadas may long be rendered useful to England, but let a British administration beware of carrying into effect a measure which the law for the regulation of the province has provided for. I mean the establishment of an order of nobility. Such a step would only accelerate an event which must one day take place,—the separation of the Canadas from England. The sagacity of future ministers, (may they live at a distant period), will be usefully engaged in estimating that portion of population, which, uniting with the proximity of such neighbours as the Americans, will render it requisite for the Canadians to be permitted to set up for themselves. Whenever this event takes place, instructed as we have been by the past, sound policy will dictate to separate with a good grace. A dam of paste-board would prove as effectual a barrier against a mountain torrent, as the influence of nobility in such a country to impede this necessary consequence.

Such, my friend, is my account of the Canadas. In the course of a century, the Upper Province may become a fruitful source of history. In its present state of population, should you wander a mile from a settlement, the face of man can hardly be viewed without an emotion of surprise, and every cultivated patch of ground is to be regarded as a trophy of his triumph over the desert.

Believe me to be.

Etc., Etc., Etc.

THE END.